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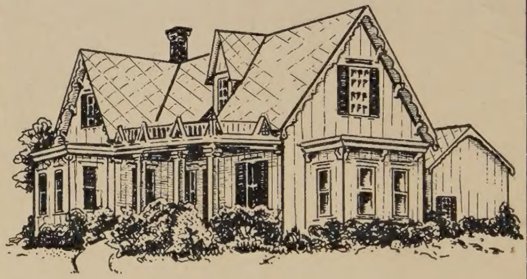

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"Sowninge in moral vertu
was his speche,
And gladly wolde he lerne
and gladly teche."

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By JAMES GAIRDNER, C.B., LL.D., D.Litt.

LOLLARDY AND THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND

AN HISTORICAL SURVEY

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INTRODUCTION

In continuing this Work on Lollardy and the Reformation I feel that its scope and object now deserve fuller explanation, first of all—though there are other reasons—because we seldom hear historians speak of Lollardy after Henry VIII.'s time. And they are right in not using a term which was no longer much used by contemporaries; for, as I have shown already, it was unbecoming to talk of Lollards, or Lollardy, when the spirit of Lollardy had grown so influential and so useful to those in power. A new name had been invented for what was essentially an old thing. "The New Learning," indeed, was a name that even its votaries did not at first accept quite readily;[1] but they soon acquiesced in the use of a term which Cranmer himself could not help employing to denote what were both his principles and theirs. Old Lollardy, in short, having helped Henry VIII. to put down the Pope, and having been unmuzzled for that very purpose, could not but get its own way in some things with the King's powerful protection. But it must not be called Lollardy or heresy any longer; it was a New Learning, different from that of the Schools, for which the King and Cranmer bespoke a fair hearing. Under Edward VI., therefore, and also under Elizabeth, we have to see how this New Learning comported itself, having authority so much in its favour.

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[1] "Who is there," said George Constantyne in 1539, "who is there, almost, that will have a Bible but he must be compelled thereto? How loth be our priests to teach the Commandments, the Articles of the Faith and the *Paternoster* in English? Again, how unwilling be the people to learn it! Yea, they jest at it, calling it the new *Paternoster* and the New Learning" (*L. P.*, XIV. ii. p. 140). So, also, Latimer resents the expression: "But ye say it is new learning. Now I tell you it is the old learning. Ye say, it is old heresy new scoured. Nay, I tell you, it is old truth, long rusted with your canker, and now new made bright and scoured."—Latimer's *Sermons* (Parker Soc.), p. 30. Many other examples of the expression might be given. But perhaps the most significant are those which occur in Cranmer's letter of reproof to an influential justice of Kent (perhaps Sir Thomas Cheyney, Warden of the Cinque Ports) who disliked the new school, and claimed the newly published *Institution of a Christian Man* as a rebuke to the innovators. Cranmer had heard that he had said of it, "It alloweth all the old fashion and putteth all the knaves of the new learning to silence." He had thus, Cranmer tells him, discouraged "the teachers of the New Testament," and had led his servant to say to them, "My master and divers other could have favored you much better, saving that you smelled of the new learning."—Cranmer's *Letters* (Parker Soc.), pp. 350-51.

To make this apparent is the task that lies before me; and I must own it is a formidable one, for the demands it makes upon my poor energies. Moreover, when I look back on the work already accomplished, I am almost disheartened by a sense of its defects. Of these, indeed, in some ways, I felt conscious beforehand. But I must frankly own that—detached and fragmentary as its very plan was—there is a good deal in the execution of my work that requires apology. Not only are large subjects slightly treated, but there is a larger crop of errors than I like the look of. Nor am I desirous that what I have already written should be more highly esteemed than it deserves. For I find that my very errors, when pointed out—as some of them have been—were real hindrances to my general aim; while, on the other hand, there are popular but misdirected criticisms which require a word or two in explanation.

If, indeed, any one were to accuse me of great presumption in having attempted to grapple with so large a subject at all, I might well feel at a loss to answer him; for I knew from the first that I laboured under no small disadvantage for one who would fain have treated as a whole a subject of such magnitude with so many ramifications. I was a mere retired archivist, most of whose official time had been occupied in endeavouring to chronologise and arrange matter for real historians to utilise. But I felt, at the same time, that my somewhat special experience, not due to my own particular choice, had given me the command of what I certainly consider the most important aspect of that great political and religious crisis which we are in the habit of calling the Reformation; and that to estimate its historical significance aright requires a good deal more than the whole-hearted devotion which many can give to a very good cause, even when that devotion is animated by the utmost desire to be impartial. For it requires, first, a clearer apprehension than it is easy to form in these days of the political status of the Church in pre-Reformation times; and, secondly, a no less clear appreciation of the political legacy of thoughts and feelings bequeathed to both parties by the pre-Reformation philosophy. From these factors, indeed, emerged that contest between High and Low Church principles, and ultimately with the principles of Dissent, which have troubled the Church of England from the Reformation to the present day. A full treatment of all this vast subject is, I confess, altogether beyond me. Indeed, I never pretended to consider, or wished the reader to consider, my "Historical Survey" as a full Church History of any period. But I have done what I could hitherto, merely in the way of sketches, to illuminate the main conditions under which the Reformation was evolved; and I am anxious, if possible, to continue the story still in the same fashion, to the time when something like a settled basis was attained—that is to say, when, liberated from serious external danger, the Reformed Church had really become the Church of the people at large.

Now, what is the problem to be faced? Let any intelligent man ask himself one question. Is there not something yet to be explained as to the actual cause, or causes, of the Reformation? Of its significance no one can entertain a doubt. Whether looked upon as a good or evil thing for religion, all must confess that it was a very great thing. Some mighty power shook the heavens and the earth, and it is hardly possible for us now to picture to our imaginations the heavens and the earth that passed away centuries ago. History has become vivid since then: before the sixteenth century we see it as in a glass darkly. Surely this is a problem for an historian—if, indeed, any of us who have all our ingrained prejudices can but lift himself, even for a moment, out of the narrowing tendencies of the school in which he has been brought up. Yet the world is so divided now into different schools and different communions that it is no wonder if some great thinkers, and even historians, have sought impartiality in unbelief and rejected Christianity altogether from inability to see it as a whole. For no doubt there is a sort of impartiality in paganism, though it persecuted Christianity itself in days of old. But it is a strange thing to make oneself a pagan now after centuries of Christian teaching. It does not help us to understand what life is that a man should have an intellect cold as a glacier. We are affected by Christianity whether we will or no. There is no resisting the power which carries on the work of civilisation. Yet we do not to this day see it clearly, and cold intellects are no great help. Often where there is least of dogma, there is most of heart, and the heart is wiser than the head.

For my own part, if I have my prejudices, I do not think they are such as some of my readers imagine. I have never felt the least personal inclination towards the Church of Rome, though I confess I have always desired to understand it. But I have always desired to understand other religions also. For I myself was brought up outside of all the orthodoxies, and for half my life, what I now feel to be the vital doctrines of Christianity, acknowledged all the world over, were certainly quite unintelligible to me, and accordingly incredible. Moreover, when in former days I read discussions between orthodox Protestants and Romanists, I must confess that, as one outside either community, I almost always felt that the Romanist had the better of his antagonist in point of logic. Nevertheless, Rome was further removed from me a great deal than Protestantism; and if, as some critics have pointed out to me, I have done the Roman cause, historically, rather more than justice, it has really arisen from a desire to be fair in matters easily exaggerated by our modern prejudices.

But on this subject I will say a few words by and by. For criticisms of another kind must first be disposed of, especially as they are criticisms which have a deeper root in popular feeling. Indeed, they are founded on views so specious that they completely obscure, to my mind, the real story of the English Reformation; and it is the one great object which I proposed to myself when I began the present work, to ascertain, as far as possible, the essential principles of that mighty movement which has given it such permanence and strength. Of course, many will say that these were theological principles, such as justification by faith, or the negation of purgatory and transubstantiation. I am the last man to deny the importance—the supreme importance, I would say, to each one of us—of having a true, and not a false, theology to guide him, without which the individual soul must inevitably be "perishing everlastingly." But the individual is not a Church to himself—when it comes to that, of course, he can do without any Church at all in a land of perfect toleration; for, in fact, he has then no real religion whatever, and does not want any. Real religion should draw men into social unity—how can it otherwise when men feel that they have one common Master? And the question always has been, both before the Reformation and since, how to preserve that social unity—formed not by political or human power, but by God's own Spirit in our hearts—with all due, but not overdue, submission to "the powers that be."

Opinions differ. No doubt they will, as they always have done. But if there be anything in one's opinion at all, is it the better for being segregated or confined to a few who claim the right of worshipping by themselves? Whatever the errors of our ancestors, and their ways were certainly too forcible, they never imagined that. The individual, or the sect, must be unfruitful in the nature of things until he or they take part somehow in the spiritual life of those about them; and how far the prejudices of Society will admit of that is doubtless a troublesome question. Far easier it seems to most of us to say, "Leave me alone and I will leave you alone." Nay, if the principle of division is held sacred, we must say so sometimes in our own defence. But is it not a miserable thing that Christianity should be walled up in compartments thus? We are very liberal in these days towards sects—not merely to the men who belong to sects but to the sects themselves. Churchmen are often anxious to recognise these bodies as separate bodies from themselves, having just as much a right to exist—not merely a legal right, which is conceded, but a moral and spiritual right, to be separate communities. But this claim is fatal to the essence of Christianity itself. We are liberal enough, in a sort of way. Among our intimate friends we have Churchmen, Roman Catholics, Dissenters, Agnostics, Jews and perhaps Mohammedans. We walk with them, talk with them, eat with them, drink with them. There is only one common table to which we cannot come, even those of us who profess Christianity, and that is the Lord's table. We must tolerate differences, and I do not deny that we are right in doing so. But how do differences come? Surely because we are, as St. Paul said, "carnal," that is to say, not entirely Christian; otherwise we might confer together on these matters in a spirit of unity, just as we do in secular matters.

But present-day problems do not appeal to us here. The question is how to look at matters of the sixteenth century. The late Canon Bigg, in his *Wayside Sketches in Ecclesiastical History*, expresses his regret that I and the late Canon Dixon agree in the use of the word "heretic" in its strictly historical sense; that is to say, we call those persons heretics who were called heretics by their contemporaries. Well, I should say, for my part, that if we wish to understand past ages we must learn a little of the language of past ages, and try and understand what it means. We shall never appreciate truly the ideas of our ancestors if we do not weigh their words; and I do not see how we are to understand their words if we presume that they continually misapplied them. They surely had some reason for calling heresy that which they did call heresy. And though, of course, as compared with ourselves they were very ignorant in many things, yet on the whole they knew what they meant by the words they used just as well as we do. But it is true that a great change of feeling has taken place with regard to heresy, and that we regard it now as something very harmless. This is sufficiently manifest in the way that Canon Bigg condemns my use of the language of ancient times. "If everybody is to bear the name which his contemporaries give him," he remarks, "Canon Dixon was, and Mr. Gairdner is, a heretic, anathematised as such by the majority of the

Christian world. They would have found themselves burnt alive by the same men who sent Thomas Bilney to the stake. . . . These early English Protestants did not hold one single belief which is not held or regarded as tenable amongst us at the present day. Further, it is not the wont of history to fix upon parties the nicknames by which they have been branded by theological or political hatred."[1]

Nicknames! The word heretic occurs in the New Testament. Did St. Paul use it as a nickname? "A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition reject" (Titus iii. 10). Perhaps the meaning is rather better expressed in the Vulgate in which the text was read long ago: "Haereticum hominem post unam et secundam correptionem devita." After two separate admonitions to the heretic, avoid his company, says St. Paul, giving a reason for this advice in the next verse: "knowing that he that is such is subverted and sinneth, being condemned of himself" (*i.e.* he is a perverse man and stands self-condemned as a wrong-doer). Now this is just what heretics were considered to be in the Middle Ages; and even if popular opinion was to some extent affected by prejudice, mediæval Christians acted just as St. Paul advised. They avoided the company of men marked as heretics whenever it was found that they could not be affected by admonitions; and the Church, when it failed to reconcile them, cast them off by excommunication that they might not contaminate others. That was the utmost that the Church could do to them; and no one could treat another as an irreclaimable heretic until the Church had pronounced judgment upon him to that effect.

Unhappily, matters did not stop there, and it is difficult to see in rough times how they could have stopped there. No one will think of justifying nowadays such a penalty as burning for heresy; and certainly it was a most objectionable thing. But it is easy to be censorious when we have lost all sense that the maintenance of social order depends on respect being paid to Church authority, no less than on loyalty to the laws of the land. Tell a man now that sedition, privy conspiracy, and rebellion, in the secular world, are but the offspring and the counterparts of false doctrine, heresy, and schism in the spiritual, and he will not believe you. The secular order of things is sacred to most of us, the spiritual order is not sacred at all. No one can call another to account for false doctrine or heresy, and therefore it is supposed that they do no mischief. If they do, at all events, the evil must be allowed to cure itself. Yet surely it was something in the rough ages long ago that there was a spiritual authority generally respected in all countries much more than that of the secular prince, who might be, in fact, a tyrant, or the laws of any particular kingdom, which might be, in fact, very barbarous.

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[1] *Wayside Sketches*, pp. 157-8.

For it should be remembered that this higher spiritual authority was recognised by the laws of all Christian countries that were under the Roman obedience; and when once, after much forbearance (which was always shown as regards mere speculative error, or what was so considered, affecting the doctrines of the Church), a Church tribunal had definitely pronounced a man a heretic, and he refused to recant or bow to the opinion of trained judges, who presumably understood such questions better than himself—what was this but contempt of court? We do not now recognise the decisions of any Church court amenable to Rome, and the most of us are not greatly interested in the decisions of other Church courts. But is contempt of any jurisdiction to be tolerated while we still profess to accept that jurisdiction as right? In matter of mere secular law, contempt of court cannot be suffered without injury to all law and order whatever. And it was the same in those ages when temporal law itself was held of inferior dignity to the law of the Universal Church. Therefore I think we really have some justification historically for calling mediæval heretics heretics, seeing that they were found to be so by law, and were so, indeed, as a matter of fact.

As to the penalty inflicted, that is a different question. Heresy being accounted a social danger, the penalty was a question that concerned civil order rather than ecclesiastical. Burning for heresy, in truth, was not instituted by the Church, though the odium of it, in later times, was generally thrown upon the bishops. Bishops may, no doubt, have approved of it as a painful necessity, just as at the present day they may approve of capital punishment for murder. In the twelfth century it would seem that bishops sometimes protected heretics from popular fury, and sometimes were unable to protect them.[1] But while Bishops certainly always did regard heresy as a crime against Society, the Church could do nothing more than excommunicate a very perverse heretic. What was to be done with him if the Church declared him a man whose company was by all means to be avoided was naturally a difficult question; and burning was generally agreed upon. As to the origin of the fiery penalty, writers differ. One modern scholar contends that till the end of the tenth century heretics were subject only to ecclesiastical jurisdiction and ecclesiastical penalties. But when the world did not come to its expected end in the year 1000 there was much religious excitement. The heresy of the Cathari made its appearance in the West, and was not easily kept within bounds. Afterwards a policy of coercion sprang up, and was even urged upon princes by a Council held at Toulouse in 1119. Such is the view of the late M. Julien Havet.[1] Since his day I rather think burning for heresy has been traced further back. Yet till the thirteenth century it seems to have prevailed little in some countries, and the late Mr. H. C. Lea, who has devoted so much labour to the investigation of this and cognate subjects, expresses his conviction "that the number of victims who actually perished at the stake is considerably less than has ordinarily been imagined."[2] Minor penalties at first were generally found sufficient. In Germany the practice arose without any legal sanction, and what sort of sanction it obtained in England before Henry IV.'s time it is not easy to ascertain. Apparently at common law heretics had no more claim to toleration than vermin, and men could be burned at once whenever they were judged to be heretics. But burning was not always the rule. Under Henry II. some thirty heretics who came from Germany were judged by a Council at Oxford in 1166, but were not condemned to be burned. The King ordered that they should be branded in the face (their leader both in the face and chin) and whipped out of the town in the bitterness of winter, further orders being added that no man should offer them food or shelter. And this severity was said at the time to have purged England completely of that alien pest.[3]

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[1] See Tanon's *Histoire des Tribunaux de l'Inquisition en France*, p. 15.

Then we have in 1222 the famous case of the Deacon and the Jewess which is the subject of one of Maitland's essays.[4] But at the end of the thirteenth century, even in England, we hear of inquiry touching felonies to be punished by burning, including the practices of sorcerers, Sodomites, and unbelievers "openly attainted." Yet of actual burnings in England during the next century we have no record at all; and quite lately it was commonly believed that there were none till the statute *de haeretico comburendo* was passed. It is remarkable, however, that William Sawtré, or Chatrys, the first heretic in England known to have undergone such a fate since A.D. 1222, was burned by an order of the King in Council, issued just before the Act in question was passed. And it seems further beyond doubt that although no positive case of it was known, burning for heresy had been put in practice in England before then, or at all events was looked upon as something perfectly warrantable.[1]

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[1] See his article in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, entitled "L'Hérésie et le bras séculier au moyen âge jusqu'au treizième siècle" (Paris, 1881).

[2] *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, p. 549.

[3] See William of Newburgh's "History" in *Chronicles*, edited by R. Howlett (Rolls Series), i. 131-4.

[4] *Canon Law in the Church of England*, chap. vi.

Wycliffe himself was not burned as a heretic; but then he was not found to be one by any conclusive judgment till long after his death. In his day a new state of matters had arisen; and to men not versed in theology the case was very confusing. Great persons, like John of Gaunt and Sir Henry Percy, only sought to secure a fair trial to one who was undoubtedly a learned doctor. The power of his followers was much diminished when they were no longer supported by knights with armed retinues; and few among them had scholastic minds or training equal to his. The later Lollardy consequently was unable to hold its ground; it had neither much learning nor critical acumen to support it. Resting only on crude inferences from Scripture, it was arrogant and offensive; and its adherents truly deserved the name of heretics, opprobrious though that name was.

But Canon Bigg, who objects to the use of this word as applied to them, suggests that I myself am a heretic by the same rule that Thomas Bilney[1] and others were called heretics in the sixteenth century. Who is it that thinks me so? If any one, I suppose it should be a sound Roman Catholic, especially a Roman Catholic divine. Well, I am happy to say, I know several Roman Catholics, some of them even divines of high standing, who, I think, value my friendship as I do theirs. They do not avoid my company as they ought to do if they considered me a heretic in the same sense as Bilney was. But am I really so? Or is it only laxity of principle on their part not to shun me? I am inclined to think that they feel no compunction about it, and that there is no protest raised within the Church of Rome itself against such intercourse of Romanists with Protestants, except in the case of mixed marriages—a thing which, I daresay, we too think unadvisable for the most part. My Roman Catholic friends may indeed consider my opinions heretical; that is to say, sectarian, or such as would tend to split up the Church into sects if it were not split up already. But that is something different from looking upon me as a heretic, which I trust I am not. For I protest that in mind I am not at all sectarian, if I know myself truly. And if my sole object is to seek for truth so far as my limitations permit me, then I am not a heretic at all but a real Catholic, refusing to be bound by any school. I do not reject absolutely even the doctrine of Transubstantiation if it can be shown to be reasonable. But as yet I cannot say that I see it in that light; and if I am asked to subject my own reason to the Church, I am ready to do so—to a Church that is really universal.

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[1] This was shown by Thomas Arnold in his Introduction to his *Select English Works of J. Wyclif*, pp. viii-xi. I called the attention of the late Prof. Maitland to these evidences, and he confessed that he did not see by what authority the execution could have been done. There could have been no civil process, but burning a proved heretic must have been considered justifiable by common law. No actual cases, however, are known. See *Stubbs*, iii. 381-2.

Mere opinions, in truth, do not constitute heresy in any man; and it is even true that the heresies of the Middle Ages are not heresies now, just because they do not tend in honest men to break up further the unity and social life of Christianity. The heretical spirit now is nothing like what it used to be. Truth, no doubt, is eternal. What is true now was true always, and what was true in the Middle Ages is true now in matters of faith. But is any tribunal on earth infallible? That is the question between us and Rome. There is one sense in which I myself would confess that the Church cannot err. For if there be a divine Revelation at all—if our Lord Himself was right in saying that He came to bring Truth into the world, and that after His death the Holy Spirit would guide His followers into the whole Truth—then, undoubtedly, His followers do possess among them, taken as a whole, a fund of truth which cannot possibly be diminished or weakened as we go on. But that Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church must embrace all real Christians whatsoever. Sects here and there may err; but surely it cannot be that whole nations, calling themselves Christians, and accepting expressly, or even by implication, all that is written in the three Catholic Creeds, can deviate, otherwise than accidentally and for a time, from the original deposit of the Faith.

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[1] Canon Bigg, of course, takes the ordinary view of Bilney, that he was a Protestant heretic, which I have shown is not the case. See Vol. I. 393, 400. Bilney believed in the mass all his life, and got leave to partake in it before he suffered, penitently acknowledging that he had been a great offender in other ways. In fact, he was a real *haereticus homo* in St. Paul's sense without being very much of a heretic in point of doctrine.

Here, however, comes in the question of authority; for we are bound to admit and respect authority of some sort. Those who believe in no revelation find the only "seat of authority" in these matters in their own individual judgments, which, of course, tend naturally to diversity, just because there is no external guidance. In science individual judgments tend towards unity because there is such guidance; but in religion, if you shut out the light of revelation and historical experience you have none. Such an individual position was maintained in his latest book by one of the most sincere and greatest thinkers of the last generation, the late Dr. Martineau. But independence like this is not really possible. For such is human nature that we are none of us entirely satisfied with our own individual judgments until we have compared notes with others; and I doubt if Dr. Martineau himself was as little influenced by judgments differing from his own as his theory would naturally imply. Moreover, I am sure that there are many Rationalists among us who lean on Dr. Martineau himself as an authority more than they trust their own individual judgments.

The real question is how much deference we ought in reason to pay to an alien authority from whom we can learn something that we could not have found out ourselves. I think we can only receive the views of others in a tentative way. If we accept truth upon authority it will grow within us by further thought and experience, and we know that our authority has been a true guide, for it has helped us on our path. Our eyesight has been gradually educated to see plainly what was at one time dark to us. But if we accept error on an authority which is merely plausible, it also grows within us, bringing on results which we shall find ultimately to be pernicious—unless we go on "perishing everlastingly" in new sophistries; for error has no life in itself, and can only maintain itself by more and more negations. Is it not well, then, that they who believe in a Revelation should feel themselves to be one body, giving strength and life to each other in that belief which is common to them all? For they are indeed one body, working out a common harmony.

But it was necessary for the Christian world for a long time, if the truth of Christian Revelation, with the careful inferences drawn from it by divines and schoolmen, was not to be eternally persecuted, that the faith should be protected by princes and rulers who professed Christianity themselves. Christian truth, therefore, having been laid down by authority, disturbers, or heretics, had to be removed, somehow or other, after repeated unavailing admonitions. No one really disputed the necessity—not even heretics themselves, who generally maintained that they were not heretics, and that it was their own dogmas that ought to be supported against assailants. But they seldom really had the courage of their opinions; for they were not straightforward. They would deny their own words, change their names, recant with deliberate purpose to preach again what they recanted, and escape from diocese to diocese, so that they should not be recognised in new places as men who had been convicted and done penance for trying to shake the faith of their neighbours.

It cost some trouble to deal with such men, even before the days of printing, and before they received underhand encouragement from a King who had his own reasons for making the Church's task as difficult as possible. But when the printing press came to the aid of heresy, as we have seen already, the task of suppressing poisonous literature was particularly embarrassing, and the encouragement given to it by the King made it naturally much more so. At last his open breach with Rome made Henry himself a heretic in the eyes of all Europe.

But when it came to this, an entirely new chapter was opened up in the history of Christianity. How was it possible now to shun the company of heretics when the King himself was one? His subjects bewailed the fact, and were glad when an Act like that of the Six Articles seemed likely to put down irreverence and blasphemy. But irreverence and blasphemy went on, and good men avoided the Court, as Sir Thomas More, even in earlier days when he wrote his *Utopia*, had sought to avoid it as much as possible. That was all that could be done even by the best of Henry's subjects. Some check might still have been put upon royal wickedness if foreign princes could only have been persuaded to stop commercial intercourse with a country governed by such a king. But this the two most powerful foreign princes declined to do. Each, indeed, would have been willing enough to do it if supported by the other, for Henry was loved by neither of them; but if either had acted alone, he knew well that the other would have been glad of England's assistance against himself. And then, as to heresy, Henry himself always denied the imputation. He had only rejected the Pope's jurisdiction and treated him as a foreign bishop. In religion he professed to keep what was strictly lawful, and to be governed by the best advice that he could get from his own clergy.

Nevertheless Lollardy had gained no small hold on the kingdom, even in his day, and it affected the Church more and more after his death. For as soon as Lollard opinions obtained favour at Court, and especially when any such opinions were definitely recognised, they were supported by that Royal Supremacy which was, as I have shown, the first moving cause of the Reformation. And yet there was no real gain for the principle of religious toleration. How could there be when Heresy insisted that old Orthodoxy was wrong and only desired to take her place? While papal authority was still upheld, heretics had been maintaining that their principles were those of the true Church, and that the "Visible Church" was an usurper.[1] Under Edward VI. there was a good deal of consultation with foreign divines as to what the principles of the true Church were; but a solution independent of Rome was very much facilitated by shutting up in prison, one after another, every bishop who showed himself at all favourable to Roman doctrine; and at the close of the reign no less than five were in custody under the most pitiful pretence of law.

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[1] See More's *Dialogue*, book ii. ch. i., of which an abstract will be found in this work, Vol. I. p. 567. Foxe's contention was the same all through.

Coercion and deposition of bishops were carried even further under Elizabeth. Yet undoubtedly those conferences of foreign and English divines within the kingdom had already led to the laying of very broad foundations, and the faith of all Christendom was cleared of doctrines which were merely scholastic and nowise essential to the Gospel set forth from the beginning. Unhappily the broad basis gave little satisfaction for a long time. Roman Catholics were persecuted, and Lollards or Puritans were anxious to persecute them even more. But these latter Lollards were revolting from the Reformed Church with as great or greater vehemence than their predecessors had done from the Church of Rome. There was a spirit of revolt in other nations as well, and a uniform national religion could not be established anywhere. Adherents of the old Faith were disturbed by Huguenots in France not less than by Lutherans in Germany and Calvinists almost everywhere. Civil war broke out in France as it had done in Germany. The Netherlands revolted from Spanish rule. No theory of religion suggested toleration, because the civil ruler must have a religion of his own to go by, and must therefore impose it upon all his subjects.[1] The theory that Protestantism was more tolerant than Romanism will not bear investigation.[2]

It was policy, rather than humanity or even Christian feeling, that first suggested the necessity of toleration. The tolerant party in France were actually called *Politiques*—men who felt that it had become a political necessity in Government to allow some

[1] That was the principle even of the peace of Westphalia in 1648.

[2] Even the Middle Ages can hardly show a case of persecution so atrocious as that of the young man Aikenhead, who, having rashly denied the Trinity and repented it, was done to death at the end of the seventeenth century to please the Edinburgh clergy. See Macaulay, iv. 781-4.

indulgence to heresy. But in England the battle had to be fought out, heresy actually taking the place of orthodoxy under Oliver Cromwell, and suppressing the Church of England for a time. Then, when after the Restoration the Church of England had its own again, those who could not agree with it seceded. The theory that Government and people should be of one religion could no longer be maintained intact, and it was certainly time to arrive at some understanding with the malcontents. Religious toleration, in fact, was first attempted, as a matter of sheer policy, by the last Stuart kings, Charles II. and James II., and they each met with a severe rebuke for attempting it. Yet it was under James II. that the first Dissenting chapels were built. For it was natural enough that a convinced Roman Catholic king should consider other heresies really less dangerous than the heresy of a State Church independent of Rome; and he probably believed that equal tolerance for all would eventually win the day for his own religion. But he was not allowed to carry the experiment very far; for the nation at large was far more opposed to a return to Rome than inclined to indulgence, even of Protestant Dissent.

A great change, however, has taken place since the days of the Revolution, and the spirit of tolerance is now so general that the present generation is at a loss to understand the principles really at stake when nations were first cut off, or shook themselves free, from the spiritual dominion of Rome. Old things have passed away completely, and we really cannot picture to ourselves nations under such tutelage at all. Least of all can we think of the question as one vitally affecting spiritual and social order. But Henry VIII. put the matter plainly when it first suited him to make known what he was driving at. On the 11th May 1532 he called before him the Speaker and twelve members of the House of

Commons, and, having eight Lords with him, he said to them: "We thought that the clergy of our Realm had been our subjects wholly; but now we have well perceived that they be but half our subjects. For all the prelates, at their consecration, make an oath to the Pope clean contrary to the oath that they make to us; so that they seem to be his subjects and not ours."[1] As a matter of fact, the bishops swore obedience to the Pope on receiving their spiritual charges, and then swore allegiance to the King that their temporalities might be restored to them, declaring in the latter oath that nothing in the former would interfere with perfect loyalty to their Sovereign, from whom alone they could hold the lands of their bishoprics, to enable them to discharge their secular duties. This arrangement had been understood for centuries, and it was mere affectation on Henry's part to pretend that he had not been aware of it. For it was nothing but a natural and essential part of the twofold government in Church and State with which all the world was then familiar. The clergy, indeed, were no subjects of the King in spiritual matters—nay, the humblest sexton or church officer was not subject to the King's law but to the law of the Church, as regards his performance of his duty. And even the laity were amenable to Church law, as I have already shown. It was, in truth, a jurisdiction to which the King himself was amenable, and he would willingly have remained so if the Church, as he at first hoped, would only have released him from the bondage of a marriage of which he had grown tired. Thwarted of his aim at Rome, he at once set agoing a revolution of which even he could not foresee the ultimate results.

So far, then, I consider that some criticisms on my past writings are unfounded. But I now proceed to the confession of errors in the present work, the chief of which relate to the condition of the monasteries.

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[1] Hall's *Chronicle*, p. 788.

As long ago as the year 1887, when editing the Tenth Volume of the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, I felt it incumbent upon me to investigate and form as careful a judgment as I could upon the dreadful reports of the state of the monasteries drawn up by the King's visitors in 1536. As editor of a Government publication I would gladly have avoided expressing any opinion whatever on a subject which afforded so much room for controversy; and, in point of fact, I did not in my Preface so much express an opinion as simply set forth the kind of evidence which a critical examination of details, where possible, together with a general survey of facts, brought to bear on the credibility of those reports. Nor do I think, looking back on that Preface, that there is anything stated there as a matter of opinion that cannot be justified. But the impression which I then received as to the utter worthlessness of the testimony of the Royal Visitors, true as I think it still, has, I fear, since inclined me too much to minimise other evidences of monastic depravity, especially in certain cases where the things insinuated were not exactly clear. I never, certainly, intended to suggest that impurity did not exist in some monasteries. There had even been gross and notorious cases like that of St. Albans in the days of Henry VII., which it was impossible to overlook. That abuses in monasteries—especially in a house exempt from episcopal jurisdiction—should have become serious in times of civil war and disorder seemed to me not unnatural; but I saw no reason to doubt that in quieter times of energetic rule they were considerably abated. So I was prepared to believe that under Henry VIII., although there was no doubt still much laxity of discipline in some Orders and in some houses, good rule prevailed on the whole.

With this impression the episcopal visitations of Norwich diocese, published by Dr. Jessopp, seemed to me to harmonise pretty well. But evidences, even from such a source, may be liable to misinterpretation, and I confess in some points the accounts of those visitations, given in Vol II. of this work (Book III., Appendix to Chapter ii.), are not so accurate as could be wished. Thus in describing the visitation of Norwich priory at p. 103, I have said briefly "One monk was a dandy, and another played cards," etc. But the charge against John Sall amounted to something more serious than dandyism. It appears to have been as follows :—

> The said John Sall sometimes wears shoes closed with red silk points, sometimes slippers in the day time, and long hose made with a doublet audaciously (*insolenter*) after the fashion of laymen, to the mischievous example of the young brethren, especially as the same John, even in the prior's presence, does not blush to show every one his manner of walk *erectis vestibus.*[1]

The original Latin of this passage was a puzzle to the Editor; but Mr. Coulton has thrown some light upon it. First of all, I think that there can be little doubt, as he suggests, that *trepidis* should be *crepidis*, slippers, as I have translated it here; also that *caligae* mean hose, not boots as several translators of sixteenth-century documents besides myself have supposed them to mean;[2] and finally, that what is denounced as particularly disgraceful in John Sall is that being clad in lay attire, with doublet and hose,[3] he does not blush even in the Prior's presence to raise his outer garment and show his indecent manner of walking. What is meant by this we may interpret as we please. Clearly the manners observed in the Cathedral priory of Norwich were not such as speak well for the ordinary discipline, especially as it is only the culminating offence with which John Sall is charged; for the same deponent complains that he absents himself from matins, mass and hours, and neglects his duties as precentor, which required him at the beginning of every week to see that the whole convent was instructed how to perform the week's offices. Moreover, he was believed to be in debt and did not pay his brethren their pensions regularly. Yet he was favoured by the Prior who was remiss in punishing his manifest offences.

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[1] *Norwich Visitations*, p. 201.

[2] The word is also mistranslated "boots" at p. 97, l. 19. On the same page, l. 7, "keys" should have been "locks."

[3] "Doublet and hose" were ordinary male attire, as we see in Shakespeare, and when there was no cloak over all they were light attire for indoor wear. See *Merry Wives of Windsor*, Act iii. Sc. 1 :—"And youthful still in your doublet and hose this raw rheumatic day!"

Thus it would seem that the inside of a cathedral priory was not always a place for cultivating decorum. But as I had already remarked in reference to this house (Vol. II. p. 102), a cathedral priory was really more apt to get out of hand than an ordinary monastery.

As to the monastery of Westacre I regret to say that I have made a worse misstatement, which I really cannot excuse; and how it came about I do not know. At p. 106 I said that the only charges of impurity in this monastery were in the visitation of 1514 and in that of 1532. But the worst and grossest charge of all was brought against one of the monks in the visitation of 1526, and though erased in the MS. I fear it must have been true; for not only does the cancelled passage say that the offender was frequently caught in the act, but another deponent says he is accused of crime *ut praemittitur.* It appears that there were irregularities in this house from the first, and in 1494 the gentry were not paying for their children's board. Then the house got into debt, an exhibition at Cambridge was not paid, a lad whom the monastery had been accustomed to send to the university was not allowed to go, the house could no longer keep a schoolmaster, and things went on from bad to worse.

As to the notorious case of St. Albans referred to above, I have this to say. Although I never cast a doubt upon the painful reality of the statements, I find that I was misled on one point, on which I have been corrected by Abbot Gasquet. Trusting too much to Dugdale, I supposed that the Abbot then at St. Albans could not have been Wallingford, who was stated to have died in 1484, though there was no record of any successor to him before 1492. Following Newcome in his *History of St. Albans*, Dugdale supposed that the monastery had been left without a head for eight years—rather a strange occurrence; and as these eight years included the time when Morton called an Abbot of St. Albans to answer for his scandalous misgovernment, I supposed that it was some unknown Abbot whose name was not in the list. It appears, however, from the *congé d'élire* issued after his death that Abbot Wallingford only died in 1492; so that it was undoubtedly he to whom Morton's grave admonition was addressed. On this point I am glad to be set right by Abbot Gasquet, who has, moreover, since the publication of my first volume, made some important investigations touching the case (with results of which I shall speak presently) in the Vatican Archives. But first of all, I am bound to say that the identification of Abbot Wallingford as the person to whom Morton's severe letter was addressed does nothing to improve the very unpleasant aspect of the story. Abbot Wallingford is indeed praised by the monks as one who, besides paying off in fourteen years the heavy debts of his predecessor, did a number of munificent things in behalf of the Abbey—among others, presented it with a splendid altar screen which exists there even now. But if it be true, as stated in Archbishop Morton's letter, that he cut down the woods of the monastery to the value of 8000 marks, the explanation seems to be that he paid the debts of the house out of capital and reduced the value of a magnificent property to make things comfortable for the existing generation of monks. In that case he grossly abused his official trust; and unfortunately there are records of his previous history as a monk which agree only too well with this hypothesis. For he was a trustee of Abbot Stoke, a covetous man who, against the rules of the Order, had accumulated a private hoard, and after Stoke's death he was called to account by Abbot Whethamstede for attempted embezzlement. Abbot Whethamstede, indeed, once charged him to his face with perjury, and was only persuaded not to dismiss him from various offices of trust by the intercession of influential noblemen, whose friendship the culprit had cultivated like a man of the world.[1]

Yet after Abbot Whethamstede and his successor William Albon had passed away, this William Wallingford was actually elected Abbot himself, with what results to the monastery Archbishop Morton's letter shows too clearly. And the further information which Abbot Gasquet has obtained for us from the Vatican Archives—though he appears not to have seen it in that light—helps, I think, rather to set forth a crowning triumph of worldliness over religion. Abbot Wallingford knew beforehand what efforts not only Archbishop Morton but King Henry VII. were making at Rome to punish his misconduct; and he actually succeeded in frustrating them. He knew the ways of Rome at least as well as they did, and he set himself from the first to preserve inviolate the exemption of the Abbey from all episcopal jurisdiction. As early as the 6th February 1490 he had procured from Innocent VIII. a brief addressed to the Archbishop desiring him to protect the Abbot and monks from all interference with their privileges. On the 5th July, however, Morton having already obtained a bull empowering him to visit exempt monasteries (though it was chiefly those with foreign heads), addressed that letter to the Abbot in which the charges against him are expressed. But the Abbot had his proctor at Rome and appealed against the right of the Archbishop to hold a visitation. On the 30th July, however, the Pope, at the King of England's earnest solicitation, granted the Archbishop special faculties to override objections raised to his visitation both by the Abbey of St. Albans and by the priory of Northampton.[1] But there must have been one more move upon the chessboard, of which Abbot Gasquet does not seem to have come upon any notice at Rome. For the victory remained at last with St. Albans, which Wallingford succeeded by great efforts in preserving from the dreaded visitation.

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[1] *Registrum Abbatiae J. Whethamstede*, i. 102-35 (Rolls Series).

No worse account could well be given of the Court of Rome than is implied by such a termination to the case; and surely no worse account could be given of the Abbey of St. Albans than the way the result was recorded. Here are the words, translated from the original Latin of the St. Albans obit book :—

> "Moreover, we ought not to be unmindful how many and how great most serious expenses and heaviest charges"—the translator must endeavour to do justice to the redundance of the original language—"he sustained in his old age, when he diligently took action against the Archbishop of Canterbury, Great Chancellor of England, for the defence of the liberties and immunities of this monastery, and when he bravely and manfully resisted his power and great strength (*ilius potentiae et magnis viribus*). He appealed even to Rome; sent his monk, John Thortun, to wit, to Rome; valiantly cited the Archbishop himself and his dean of the Arches; and at length our excellent and most reverend father and most worthy Abbot obtained a most just victory, and also—to our great honor and immense utility—preserved all our privileges

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[1] *The English Historical Review*, xxiv. 320-21.

unharmed and inviolate, thanks be to God and St. Alban, ever here and everywhere our patron."[1]

Such was the actual working, in this particular instance, of an old, complicated, and corrupt system. As many zealous reformers who, like Dean Colet, were still loyal to that system, said about the state of the Church in their day, there was no lack of good laws to correct abuses if they were only properly enforced. But then, how were they to be enforced when there was so much corruption? Good men did not see their way to a remedy. In this case the zeal of the highest prelate in England, aided by all the influence of England's King at the Court of Rome—which was always very considerable, though the Church's freedom from State control was theoretically absolute—could do nothing to avert the triumph of a powerful and wealthy abbot, who had shamefully misgoverned the community over which he presided, and made it a source of moral contagion to the neighbourhood. Having from his early years as a monk studied carefully the power of money and courted the influence of the great, and having, probably, been elected to his high post as the best man of business in the community, he distinguished his paternal rule by a good deal of cost bestowed in beautifying the Abbey and making things comfortable. He also set up there one of the earliest printing presses, to supersede the old painstaking art of the monkish copyist. He understood, even too well, the times in which he lived, and had he been a mere layman of a later age, might have made an able head of some commercial undertaking, influenced, if not by the fear of God, at least by some fear of the law of the land. But Church authority was entirely exempt from the law of the land, and a great and wealthy abbot was exempt even from an Archbishop's jurisdiction, being dependent only on Rome where proverbially all was venal.

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[1] *Registrum J. Whethamstede*, i. (App.) 478.

The corrupt system was at length broken up, not by good men zealous for reform, but by a strong and wilful king determined to have his own way, and the general results I believe have been for good. But to conclude what I have here to say about the monasteries, I cannot believe what we are sometimes told that such shameful licentiousness and breach of all rules as prevailed at St. Albans were characteristic of monasteries in general. To say the least, they could not all have been bad; and, seeing how much Henry VIII. himself was interested in making the most of monastic scandals, I should almost be inclined to think that there had been some improvement in the tone of monastic life since the days of Cardinal Morton. For Henry VIII.'s Visitors themselves seem to have found nothing serious in a good number of the houses they examined; and the very Act by which the smaller monasteries were suppressed in 1536, on the ground that they were the abodes of "manifest sin, vicious, carnal, and abominable living," acknowledges that there were also "divers great and solemn monasteries of this realm, wherein (thanks be to God) religion is right well kept and observed." I do not say that the preamble to such an Act of Parliament was animated by a spirit of truthfulness, either in the one case or the other. But such statements are naturally built as much as possible on things plausible and generally credited. And if we want further evidence that virtue was the rule in some houses, let us merely ask ourselves what sort of houses could have trained for martyrdom the Bridgettine and Carthusian monks, who were the first victims of Henry VIII.'s tyranny? We know, in fact, that Sebastian Newdigate purposely relinquished the Court in order, by becoming a Carthusian, to escape the general demoralisation that prevailed there, and he became one of that noble band of sufferers. And we also know that the good, wise, and upright Sir Thomas More at one time thought of becoming a Carthusian. Surely the houses of this Order, at least, were not impure.

Monastic life, indeed, had greatly decayed by the beginning of the sixteenth century, and individual monasteries had at times been suppressed as no longer wanted. Literature no longer flourished in such abodes in the way it had done in previous ages, and discipline, no doubt, was lax. So the general suppression under Henry VIII., much as it was resented, especially in the north of England, where the population was sparse and the maintenance of hospitality more important than elsewhere, did not affect the community at large as the elimination of an element absolutely essential to civilised life. Yet it affected the west of England so much that the rebels of 1549 insisted on the restoration of at least two monasteries in every county, and they certainly felt that the hearts of the English people generally would sympathise with their demands. We know also how Mary, when she came to the throne, strove to re-establish some monasteries at her own private expense, when there was no hope that her nobility would give up the monastic spoils. And it is not likely that she would have made such an effort if monasteries in the past had been generally ill-regulated houses.

As to the pre-Reformation Church generally, my chief critic, Mr. Coulton, is strong against those who take rosy views of it; and surely rosy views are not maintainable. That there were many things amiss in that Church was confessed all along by its own devout members, and was further confessed officially by the Church of Rome herself, when she took counsel in 1538 to reform her own discipline, as she afterwards did reform it by the Council of Trent. The results have been permanent. It was too late, indeed, for a general Reformation which should include all the Churches which had already fallen away, and the decrees of that Council could not be accepted by the whole Christian world. But the very fact that it was held, and that it did pass decrees which, doctrine apart, were highly beneficial in improving the moral tone of the Church, testifies surely to this, that there was and had always been within that great community a Spirit of godliness fighting an unequal combat with prevailing influences of a worldly, sensual, nay, at times utterly devilish character, which had enslaved the Church herself. And it is no part of my design either to vindicate or extenuate abuses which were confessed by all good men. I am sorry, therefore, that I missed some rather significant points in monastic visitations.

But I am still more sorry that, in my desire to give ordinary readers a brief summary of a book of Sir Thomas More's, which they cannot very easily procure, even on loan, to read in their own homes, I have slurred over, nay, maltreated, his argument in one passage,[1] bearing upon the far too common impurity of priests. More virtually admits the fact, and he thinks that the evil would be "more than half amended" if there were fewer priests ordained. That was the ideal of good men who wished well to the Church, in accordance with the Church's own principles. No man was allowed to take priest's orders till he was in his twenty-fifth year, an age when he might judge for himself whether he felt strong enough to maintain his chastity in a celibate condition. More himself, apparently, from what his friend Erasmus says of him,[2] was doubtful whether he could stand such a trial, and therefore remained a layman instead of becoming a Carthusian monk. In earlier times priests were few; for their special functions not many priests were required in proportion to the population, and they were held in peculiar honour. They were part of a great system, having laws of its own apart from and independent of the laws of the country they inhabited. But the special honour given to them became a coveted thing. Priests became too numerous, worldly, and corrupt; and, not being subject to the tribunals of the land like other citizens, they even committed great crimes which were absolved by easy penances under an ill-administered ecclesiastical system.

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[1] More's *Dialogue*, Book III. ch. xii. See Vol. I. p. 571 of this work.

[2] "Maluit maritus esse castus quam sacerdos impurus."—*Erasmi Epp.* lib. x. No. 30, col. 536. I have already noted elsewhere (*Paston Letters*, Introd. p. 279, edition 1904) that this sort of expression must have been a common one, as Margaret Paston said of her son Walter: "I will love him

On this subject I may as well quote the imaginary *Dialogue* between Pole and Lupset, written apparently in the early part of the year 1535, and undoubtedly written for the satisfaction of Henry VIII., though plausibly representing what two distinguished scholars might have been supposed to think and say.[1] The following extract may be pondered with profit :—

Pole. And what think you by the law and common ordinance which permitteth priests, in such number as they are now, to be made at twenty-five years of age—an office of so great dignity to be given to youth so full of frailty? This appeareth to me nothing convenient, and contrary to the ordinance of the Church at the first institution.

Lupset. Sir, that is truth, and that is the cause that at that time priests were of perfect virtue, as now, contrary, they be full of vanity.

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better to be a good secular man than a lewd priest." Yet Margaret Paston wished him to be a priest if he felt sure of himself on arriving at the right age.

[1] This *Dialogue* was edited for the Early English Text Society by Mr. Herrtage in 1878. In his biographical Introduction to the work (p. lxxiii) the Editor is quite astray about the date, and has followed a misleading suggestion of Strype, who was not aware that Lupset died in 1532. The *Dialogue*, indeed, was written some years after Lupset's death; but the date suggested, 1538, is quite out of the question. Starkey's letter to Henry VIII. (*L. P.*, VIII. 217), explaining the object of the book, could only have been written before Pole's own expected book had come to England, as Starkey was anxious to assure Henry that Pole would sympathise with his ideas about things which needed reform in Church and State.

Pole. And how think you by the law which admitteth to religion[1] of all sorts youth of all age almost; insomuch, that you shall see some freres whom you would judge to be born in the habit, they are so little and young admitted thereto?

Lupset. Surely of this, after my mind, springeth the destruction of all good and perfect religion. For what thing may be more contrary to reason than to see him profess religion which nothing knoweth what religion meaneth? This is undoubtedly a great error in all order of religion.

Pole. And what think you by the law which bindeth priests to chastity? Is not this, of all other, most unreasonable, specially in such a multitude as there is now?

Lupset. Sir, in this many things may be said; but, because I will not repugn against my conscience, I will say as Pope Pius did, that great reason in the beginning of the Church brought that law into the order of the Church; but now greater reason should take the same away again.[2]

It would be decidedly interesting to know, if we could safely presume upon it, how far these sentiments were really in the minds either of Pole or or Lupset. I think it very probable that they were so. Starkey undoubtedly had conversed with Pole in Italy, where he had resided in his house as his chaplain during the year 1534.[3] He must have returned to England by the end of that year, and entered the household of Pole's mother, the Countess of Salisbury, at Dowgate.[4] He soon left her service for the King's, and wrote letters to Pole, insidiously urging him to satisfy the King with a frank opinion as to the validity of marriage with a deceased brother's wife, while at the same time he was trying to remove the King's very just suspicions that Pole's answer would not please him. It was in this effort that he wrote the ingenious imaginary *Dialogue* between Pole and Lupset, of which the above passage is an extract.[5]

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[1] "Religion," when spoken of thus, always meant monastic life. Having just discussed (in part) the case of priests, the two proceed to discuss that of the regular Orders.

[2] *England in the Reign of Henry VIII.*, Part I. (E.E.T.S.), pp. 127-8.

[3] See *L. P.*, VII. 900, 945, 1016, 1292.

[4] *L. P.*, VIII. 117.

[5] See the references to Starkey in *L. P.*, VIII.

No doubt I might have said much more about the abuses of the pre-Reformation Church; but their exposure was not my principal object. Indeed, I think any one may fairly be satisfied with the contemporary comments of Dr. Gascoigne on this subject, which I have quoted pretty largely in the first volume of this work.[1] But the fact that there was a painful mass of moral evil within the Church before the Reformation does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that the Reformation in England—or, indeed, anywhere else—was due to moral indignation on that account. There is absolutely no appearance that this was the case. Not even Luther had any idea of revolting against the papal system for seven years after he had been shocked at what he saw of the moral condition of Rome itself; nor would he have done so at all but that he was disappointed in his expectation of fair treatment in his controversy with Tetzel. As to the Reformation in England, it was due really to the King's action against the Pope, by which papal jurisdiction was entirely abrogated; and many of the anti-papal clergy were not the sort of men who could cast stones at the papal clerics. General morality was undoubtedly worse in the days of Edward VI. than it had been before, and perhaps it really improved somewhat under Mary. Yet I have no doubt that at the end of a long struggle afterwards, the Reformation came out victorious, and that it was better, even from a moral point of view, that the nation should acquiesce in Royal Supremacy rather than bow to a foreign power considered spiritual, which claimed more than rightful authority over the lives and actions of men. For many ages Rome fulfilled a function of high importance to all Europe. There was no other recognised guide in high questions, either of Christian faith or of personal, social, and international morality. But the tribunal could no longer secure for itself that universal respect which was necessary to its effectiveness; and nations had to form their own standards of right and wrong. Enough that in so doing they could not maintain themselves without some respect for justice and the eternal truth of Christianity. Hence what is called the Established Church principle, by which the life of the Church and the life of the nation depend upon each other. Not that the Church is established by the State, for it existed long before; but that the State recognises the Church and upholds her principles, while the Church submits to such conditions in secular matters as the State may think fit to impose.

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[1] Pp. 247-65.

And this is what really constituted the essence of the English Reformation—secular power, indeed secular tyranny from which there was no escape, gradually mollified by the recognition of vital truths in the keeping of that Church which it oppressed, but never could disown. The attempt to maintain in England a foreign authority in matters ecclesiastical was found ultimately impossible; but while that authority existed it was right that it should be defended. It is here that some readers seem unable to grasp my meaning, and think that I am making Eternal Truth subject to the caprice of tyranny and secular law. How can a mere human authority, it will be said, make a doctrine false if it is true, or true if it is false? That, undoubtedly, is beyond the power of all human law. But a truly spiritual authority may exist within the limits of a single kingdom, obey the laws of that kingdom, and receive protection in return for its obedience. After all, wherever Christianity is allowed to live in peace it is always protected by secular power. Even Roman jurisdiction while it lasted was so protected, and it was still more just that national religion should be. Yet we are beginning to think nowadays that national religion is unimportant and sectarianism much better. The past should surely teach us otherwise.

With regard to doctrine, it must be remembered that whatever is accepted as Orthodoxy in any Communion is really the fruit of ages of discussion which may be supposed to have settled the matter, just as the scientific doctrines of gravitation, of evolution, or of what else soever the scientific world is agreed upon, must be considered settled and entitled to the respect of all educated men. Acquiescence of this sort does not exclude the conceivable possibility of some new and more comprehensive theory hereafter setting matters in a clearer light, or even proving that the reasonings of past ages have been founded to some extent on questionable axioms. If, for instance, we discard an axiom once received in physics, such as that "Nature abhors a vacuum," it is simply because we have found other principles, amply warranted by experience, which sufficiently account for all known phenomena without it. And further, we have a larger knowledge of phenomena than we once had, requiring simpler and more capacious theories to take in all the facts. The very same principle may be applied to theology — only, it must be applied justly. The realm of theology is not built on physical phenomena but on a spiritual interpretation of historical facts. We have the records of a divine revelation—all pointing clearly to one great essential truth to which all other truths are subordinate. We can build without fear upon this essential truth and all that it really involves. We cannot be wrong in trusting the Creeds, which are verified from age to age by new and fresh experience. But we may be wrong even in logical inferences from the most trustworthy records. Not that logic should mislead us if we use it aright. But even the mathematician knows that it is quite unsafe to apply to the Infinite rules which are infallible as regards finite quantities; and it is no less unsafe to import into the realm of theology a philosophy of material things, their "substance" and their "accidents," which might have seemed satisfactory to Aristotle, but is useless to the physical philosopher of our days.

I need not enlarge on the bearing of this consideration on one particular doctrine of mediæval Catholicism. As to other doctrines, it may suffice to say that the old tribunal at Rome had lost its high authority and could no longer count upon that universal deference which had been paid to it for ages. The progress of the world—and of evils incontrollable by mere system—forbade that this should continue. Even episcopal authority was paralysed in England by despotic power; and old methods of dealing with heresy and error were becoming difficult enough already. The printing press alone must in any case have done much to weaken the hold of mere scholastic doctrines, and the policy of for ever burning heretical literature was bound to come to an end, even as that of burning heretics themselves was. Some wheat was undoubtedly burned along with tares; and freedom of publication, allowed at first for bad reasons, was eventually the best cure for its own evils. Popular religion, indeed, was guilty of wild excesses at times; but the effect of the Reformation on the whole has surely been to strengthen the Christian faith wherever it has prevailed, and to free it from the burden of doctrines to which the heart can make no satisfactory response.

Doctrines do not really divide Christians so much as they appear to do. I wonder how many Roman Catholics have really a heartfelt belief in Transubstantiation! Perhaps many have a heartfelt belief in the Real Presence, which is not exactly the same thing. On the other hand, I believe few Protestants have a heartfelt belief in that dogma which, above all others, is the distinctive dogma of the Reformation—

Justification by faith. I am pretty sure that very many are quite ready, even now, to repudiate it over their wine-glasses with superficial levity in the way described by Cowper :—

> "Adieu," Vinoso cries, ere yet he sips
> The purple bumper trembling at his lips,
> "Adieu to all morality, if Grace
> Make works a vain ingredient in the case," etc.

Plausible arguments can easily be confessed, and the most thoughtful of us can be misled at times. Just suppose, to begin with, that there is no revelation, and that it has all to be proved! You could destroy the most assured conquests of science by objecting at every turn, "You are building on mere hypotheses." So you are. But the hypotheses have justified themselves by experience; and that is everything.

With these comments I leave my work to the reader. I am well aware that what I have written can only be valuable in the end as far as it carries conviction, and where I have erred I am myself anxious that the dross should be purged away. But where I have not erred I sincerely hope that my words may have contributed something towards a clearer and healthier view of the Reformation.

Yet I must not end here without again acknowledging with gratitude the kind assistance of my friend Dr. Hunt while passing these proofs through the press; for he has not only read them carefully but favoured me with criticisms which in some cases have saved me from positive error, and even enabled me once to bring in new matter of importance.

Lollardy and the Reformation in England

BOOK V

JUVENILE SUPREMACY

CHAPTER I

BEGINNING OF THE PROTECTORATE

Momentous issues on the death of Henry VIII.

That the death of Henry VIII. would produce results more than ordinarily momentous must have been obvious to every man. The merest tyro in politics knew well enough what an extraordinary change he had made, first in the relations of Church and State within his own kingdom, and secondly in the relations of the kingdom itself to all Christian nations besides. And the real politician knew, or should have known, that it was an abnormal condition of things which had only been maintained so far by the most astute vigilance on the part of a great ruler, balancing himself between opposing factions even within his own realm, and adjusting himself continually to the different phases of the conflict between powerful rivals outside. The King himself, apart from declining physical health, was probably worn out before he died by the constant strain put upon him by circumstances which were largely of his own creation. He was Head of the Church, and must settle judicially in the last instance all religious questions which arose within the kingdom. He must keep out the jurisdiction of "the Bishop of Rome," and even the use of the name by which other Christians called him. Yet he must have friends on the Continent among great princes who still acknowledged papal authority; or, if there was the least danger of a coalition against him, he must make common cause with the Protestants of Germany to weaken one or both of the principal allies. He had lost the respect of all foreign princes, but he had made them feel to the last that they could not do without him. He had lost the respect of the Protestants, though they had been driven to think once more that he might be useful to them as a political ally. But he had not lost the respect of his own subjects, who felt, in addition to the ties of natural allegiance, that they were under one who understood thoroughly how to rule, and of whom they must stand in awe.

Did the disappearance of such a power as this imperil the great revolution which that power had effected? Would royal supremacy now hide its diminished head, and the Church of England come once more under the old papal sovereignty? Some, no doubt, must have thought so. Nothing kept out the Pope's jurisdiction even now but royal supremacy; and the transfer of the Headship of the Church from a man of powerful intellect, versed in theology as well as politics, to a boy little more than nine years of age—notwithstanding that his education had been really forced and overdone—was a tremendous fall. Of course, the Headship of the Church would have to be exercised by advice, just like the Headship of the Realm. But in both cases there must be a certain divinity in the King himself to give effect to his authority; for deputed authority could not command respect if the ultimate source of it was weak.

State of parties.

And that was the real weakness, even in politics. The question was not what the boy King would do, but what power would get about the boy King. The death of Henry VIII. had been anticipated for some time, and the different parties at Court had been very naturally thinking each what was to become of itself under an altered state of matters. Of the powerful nobility the Seymours, of course, were the nearest in blood to the heir-apparent. The only other great families, apart from the royal line of Scotland, which could claim affinity to Henry VIII., were the Howards and the Parrs; and neither of these was related in blood to his son. The Howards were older and higher in nobility, but their relations to the King had been unfortunate. Both those Queens of Henry VIII. whom he had caused to be beheaded were nieces of the Duke of Norfolk; and, notwithstanding the glory he and his father had gained early in the reign at Flodden, and the fact that his daughter had been married to the King's bastard son, the Earl of Richmond, he was only able to maintain his influence with Henry by a servility unbecoming his rank and station. Great as his experience was in war and practical matters, his master leant more to the counsels of other advisers, and both the Seymours and the Parrs had eclipsed him in the royal favour. Then his son, the Earl of Surrey, as if to complete the ruin of the family, had given symptoms of a dangerous ambition which he paid for by the loss of his head; and he himself would have undergone a similar fate if the Act of Attainder passed against him had been carried into effect. But the King's own death saved him, and he only remained a prisoner in the Tower during the whole of Edward's reign.

So political power fell naturally to the Seymours, and chiefly to Edward, Earl of Hertford, the elder of two brothers, the new King's uncles. For several months, indeed, before the old King's death political observers had noted that he and Sir John Dudley (Lord Lisle, the Lord Admiral) had been very much at Court, and that the Council often met at Hertford's house. So the old ambassador Chapuys, then living in retirement at Louvain, gave it as his opinion that if the King were to die, the Earl of Hertford and Lord Lisle would probably have the principal management of affairs. That was not a pleasing prospect to men in the Emperor's service; for it was manifest that these two noblemen sympathised with the German Protestants against the Emperor. Moreover, about the time they came to Court the persecution of heretics in England had ceased, and their wives, along with the Dowager-Duchess of Suffolk, were allies of Queen Katharine Parr in promoting heresy whenever it was safe. The two lords themselves hated bishops, whose power they wished entirely to destroy, and they used abusive language towards leading Catholics like Bishop Gardiner and the Lord Chancellor Wriothesley.[1]

Hertford as Protector.

Thus there was no great prospect of impartial government during the minority. Even pacific government was not assured, and for that reason it was determined before the young King came to London that he should take up his residence in the Tower.[2] It was natural, however, that Hertford's claims should be generally recognised to fill the office of Protector; and he had the advantage of possessing a very useful tool in the late King's secretary, Paget, who well knew how to manage things. They arranged between them to keep the old King's death secret a day or two, while the Earl repaired to young Edward at Hertford and brought him up to London. The Earl had received from the late King himself the keeping of his will and sent Paget the key of it, agreeing to a suggestion made by him that it "should be opened till a further consultation," with a view to considering "how much thereof were necessary to be published," which "for divers respects" he thought not convenient.[3]

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[1] *Spanish Calendar*, vol. viii. pp. 464, 533-4, 555-7.
[2] *Correspondance politique d'Odet de Selve*, p. 96.
[3] Tytler's *England under Edward VI. and Mary*, i. 15.

Meanwhile all was kept quiet till the morning of Monday, 31st January, the third day after Henry's death, when the Lord Chancellor Wriothesley, scarcely refraining from tears, announced the event to Parliament.[1] The Lord Mayor and Aldermen were sent for; the accession of Edward VI. was proclaimed in the city that forenoon, and in the afternoon Edward himself arrived and took up his quarters, as arranged, in the Tower.[2] There next day the executors assembled, heard the will read, and took oath to the faithful observance of its provisions.[3] What were those provisions?

Will of Henry VIII.

The will of Henry VIII. was dated on the 30th December 1546, just four weeks before his death.[4] It contains a long preamble, from which, if from any source, we may judge of the religious feelings and purposes which animated him at the close of a most extraordinary life. Let the following extracts stand as examples:—

> And considering further also with ourselves that we be, as all mankind is, mortal and born in sin, believing nevertheless and hoping that every Christian creature living here in this transitory and wretched world under God, dying in steadfast and perfect faith, endeavouring and exercising himself to execute in his life time, if he have leisure, such good deeds and charitable works as Scripture demandeth, and as may be to the honor and pleasure of God, is ordained by Christ's Passion to be saved and to attain eternal life; of which number we verily trust by His grace to be one, . . .
>
> We also, calling to our remembrance the dignity, estate, honor, rule and governance that Almighty God hath called us unto in this world, and that neither we nor other creature mortal, knoweth the time, place, when ne where, it shall please Almighty God to call him out of this transitory and miserable world; willing, therefore and minding with God's grace before our passage out of the same to dispose and order our latter mind, will and testament in that sort as we trust

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[1] *Lords' Journals.*

[2] Wriothesley's *Chronicle*, i. 178-9.

[3] Dasent's *Acts of the Privy Council*, ii. 7.

[4] The entire text of it is printed in *Rymer*, xv. 110-17.

> it shall be acceptable to Almighty God, our only Saviour Jesus Christ, and all the whole Company of Heaven, and the due satisfaction of all godly brethren in earth, have therefore, now being of whole and perfect mind, adhering wholly to the right faith of Christ and His doctrine, repenting also of our old and detestable life, and being in perfect will and mind by His grace never to return to the same nor such like, and minding by God's grace never to vary therefro as long as any remembrance, breath, or inward knowledge doth or may remain within this mortal body, most humbly and heartily do commend and bequeath our soul to Almighty God, who in person of the Son redeemed the same with His most precious Blood in time of His Passion, and, for our better remembrance thereof, hath left here with us in His Church Militant the consecration and administration of His precious Body and Blood to our no little consolation and comfort, if we as thankfully accept the same as He, lovingly and undeserved of Man's behalf, hath ordained it for our only benefit and not His.
>
> Also we do instantly require and desire the Blessed Virgin Mary his Mother, with all the Holy Company of Heaven, continually to pray for us and with us while we live in this world and in the time of passing out of the same, that we may the sooner attain everlasting life, etc.

Such sentiments were not quite in accordance with the spirit of the times that were at hand.

The will then goes on to make provision for the King's burial at Windsor, and for making "more princely" the tombs of Henry VI. and Edward IV. As soon as convenient after his death, "all divine service accustomed for dead folk to be celebrate for us." His body was to be brought to Windsor next day, *Placebo* and *Dirige*, with a sermon and Mass devoutly to be done, and then to be interred. Then comes a bequest of alms to poor people of 1000 marks. The Dean and Canons of Windsor were to have lands and spiritual promotions to the yearly value of £600 over all charges made sure to them, they being bound to find two priests to say Masses "at the altar to be made where we have before appointed our tomb to be made," and to keep four solemn obits, giving

£10 in alms to poor people; also to give twelve pence a day to thirteen poor men to be called "Poor Knights," and once a year a long gown of white cloth, with the Garter upon the breast, embroidered with a shield and cross of St. George within the Garter, and £3 : 6 : 8 a year to one of them who shall be appointed their head and governor; also to have a sermon preached at Windsor every Sunday in the year. Thus Henry VIII., we see, believed to the end of his days that Masses for his soul would be beneficial to him.

Provisions for the succession.

Then came provisions for the succession to the throne in accordance with two Acts of Parliament which allowed him the extraordinary power to devise it by will. The King certainly took advantage of the powers conferred on him to tie up the succession to quite an extraordinary degree. The Imperial Crown and realm, with his title to France, and so forth, were first to go to his son Edward and the heirs of his body. In default of such issue they were to remain to the heirs of his own body by his present Queen, Katharine. For lack of such issue again they were to go to his daughter Mary, on condition that she did not marry without the consent of the Privy Councillors appointed by himself and his son Edward, or the most of them then alive. If she, as well as Edward, died without lawful issue, they were to go to his daughter Elizabeth and the heirs of her body, she likewise being bound not to marry without the consent of the majority of the same Privy Councillors. If she, too, died without lawful issue the great estate was to remain to the heirs of the body of Lady Frances, Henry's niece, daughter of his sister, the French Queen; with remainder, in like case, to the heirs of the body of Lady Eleanor, second daughter of the French Queen, and on failure of lawful issue from her, to the next rightful heirs. If either Mary or Elizabeth were to marry without the consent of the majority of her father's and her brother's surviving Councillors, she was to forfeit her place in the succession.

The executors.

The will next appointed as executors sixteen persons, namely, Archbishop Cranmer; the Lord Chancellor Wriothesley; Lord St. John, Great Master of the Household; the Earl of Hertford, Great Chamberlain of England; Lord Russell, Lord Privy Seal; Viscount Lisle, High Admiral of England; Bishop Tunstall of Durham; Sir Anthony Browne, Master of the Horse; Sir Edward Montague, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; Justice Bromley; Sir Edward North, Chancellor of the Augmentations; Sir William Paget, the King's Chief Secretary; Sir Anthony Denny and Sir William Harbard, Chief Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber; Sir Edward Wotton, and Dr. Wotton his brother. These executors were to manage both the private affairs of the King and the public affairs of the realm during young Edward's minority (which was to be till he should complete his eighteenth year), nothing being done by one of them without the consent of the greater number of his co-executors.

As regards the future of religion and government, it does not appear that the dying King, however penitent for his past evil ways, had any thought of giving up royal supremacy for his son, or of anything that looked like going backwards. The will, it is true, is silent upon this subject, but silence could only mean continuance of an existing rule. All the executors were already committed to the repudiation of papal supremacy, and the only man who would have brought it back was purposely left out of the King's will. It is not likely, indeed, that even Bishop Gardiner would have dared to suggest a movement in that direction in the face of statutes which made it treason; but he had once, as we have already seen, been used as an instrument for such proposals, and though he stood high, even to the last, in the opinion of his master as a wise and politic counsellor, it is evident that Henry did not think him a fit man to take part with colleagues who did not share his views in responsibility for affairs in the coming reign. It is said, indeed, and seems not unlikely to be true, that Henry himself, when questioned about the omission of the Bishop of Winchester's name in the will, replied that he could control him but no one else could.[1] For in point of fact, as we have seen already, it was the influence of Gardiner at foreign courts, that of Charles V. especially, that had warded off dangers from abroad, against which no other diplomatist could have obtained effectual security for such a king as Henry. But his value in this way arose from the very fact that his heart was entirely Catholic, and that he could hold sympathetic conferences with sovereigns and statesmen who were endeavouring to preserve the traditions of Catholicism from dangerous enemies in Europe, as he himself would have done in England.

Omission of Gardiner's name.

The day after the date of Henry's will an Englishman at Strassburg, having heard of the arrest of the Duke of Norfolk and his son, which he was informed was owing to "a secret attempt to restore the dominion of the Pope and the monks," wrote to Bullinger of the event as a great deliverance. "Nor is any one wanting," he added, "but Winchester alone, and unless he also be caught the evangelical truth cannot be restored."[1] The words are important as showing that even while Henry was still alive a much further development of "evangelical truth" was eagerly looked for by the votaries of that religion, and we have seen already how much foundation there was for such a belief. Gardiner stood firm upon the ancient ways, so far as those ways were not abrogated by a power to which he was compelled to be submissive. But who else went so far as Gardiner? Of the sixteen executors only Lord Chancellor Wriothesley and Bishop Tunstall were distinctly conservative; to whom may perhaps be added Justice Bromley, though, of course, religion was not his particular province. Sir Edward Montague, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, was perhaps conservative enough of things accomplished, being a holder of monastic lands; but that, of course, would make him unwilling to remonstrate too strongly against any further stretch of authority. William Paulet, Lord St. John (whom John Knox afterwards called Shebna), was subservient and remarkably urbane. Sir Anthony Browne, the new owner of Battle Abbey and of considerable monastic property besides, might have felt for the old religion, but, though he had the blood of the Nevills in his veins, could scarcely be relied on to resist new changes. As for the two Wottons, both were well disposed towards politic innovations, especially the younger, Nicholas, a most able diplomatist, who comfortably held the deaneries of Canterbury and York together as part of the reward for his well appreciated services.

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[1] Foxe says that the King on going over to Boulogne made a new will, in which he left the Bishop of Winchester out among the list of his executors; and that Sir Anthony Browne, thinking it was an accident of the clerk, called the King's attention to the omission, saying that his services would surely be most important to his co-executors. "'Hold your peace,' quoth the King, 'I remembered him well enough, and of good purpose have left him out; for surely if he were in my testament and one of you, he would cumber you all, and you should never rule him, he is of so troublesome a nature. Marry,' quoth the King, 'I myself could use him and rule him to all manner of purposes as seemed good unto me; but so shall you never do; and therefore, talk no more of him to me in this behalf.'" It is added that Sir Anthony "perceiving the King somewhat stiff herein," forbore to press the matter then, but met with a further rebuff when he spoke of it another time. Foxe, v. 691-2.

Treason laws apart, there was far too much vested interest in a new state of things to allow practical statesmen to look back upon old principles which had been rudely thrust aside. Gardiner would have been quite out of place in such a Council. Useful as he was to Henry VIII., he had not been popular among Henry VIII.'s councillors, and during the autumn before the King's death the Lord Admiral, Dudley, Viscount Lisle, had fallen out with him in the council chamber itself, and forgot himself so far as to give the Bishop a blow. The outrage was one that no doubt might have been visited with very severe punishment, but perhaps it was not expedient to disgrace a Lord Admiral who had already done very important service upon the seas; and Lisle only kept away from Court for a month or so, until he was wanted again in the beginning of November, apparently either for counsel or action to succour the murderers of Cardinal Beton, besieged in the castle of St. Andrews.[1]

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[1] *Original Letters* (Parker Soc.), p. 639.

But of course if a public man could not be restrained from an unseemly exhibition of spite towards Gardiner, even while the old King was alive, there was still less restraint after his death. "No man could do me hurt during his life,"[2] said Gardiner himself a little later, as we shall see presently. But now before the grave had closed on Henry VIII. the little respect for him, or even for his dead master in some quarters, appears strangely in the following passages of a letter which he wrote to Secretary Paget on the 5th February, from his house in Southwark:—

Gardiner's letter to Paget.

> To-morrow the parishioners of this parish and I have agreed to have a solemn dirge for our late Sovereign lord and master, in earnest, as becometh us. And to-morrow certain players of my lord of Oxford's, as they say, intend on the other side, within this borough of Southwark, to have a solemn *play*, to try who shall have most resort, they in game or I in earnest; which meseemeth a marvellous contention, wherein some shall profess, in the name of the commonwealth, mirth, and some sorrow, at one time.
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> Herein I follow the common determination to sorrow till our late master be buried; but what the lewd fellows should

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[1] *Négociations de M. de Selve*, p. 51.

[2] Foxe, vi. 36.

mean in the contrary I cannot tell, nor cannot reform it, and therefore write unto you who, by means of my lord Protector, may procure an uniformity in the commonwealth; all the body to do one thing,—in the interring of our old master to lament together, and in the crowning of our new master to rejoice together: after which followeth constantly a time of lamentation for sin,[1] which is not to be neglected, and which I doubt not ye will, without me, consider your charge.[2]

What came of this appeal to Mr. Secretary Paget we do not know. He was certainly a busy man at this time, but if any one had a claim upon his friendship, even apart from the question of simple decency here involved, Gardiner was that man; for Gardiner had been his tutor at Cambridge, and he had gained much of his education in Gardiner's household.[3] Such claims, however, weighed but lightly upon Paget, as we shall very soon see. In fact, he had not been very friendly to the Bishop, even during the last few weeks of Henry's reign;[4] and five years later, when proceedings were taken against Gardiner for his deprivation, he gave such a highly suspicious account of the way in which Gardiner's name was put out of the King's will that the reader may be rather inclined to suspect this may have been done at Paget's own suggestion. During those proceedings Paget declined to be sworn on the ground that "honourable personages being of dignity as he was" were privileged not to be put upon oath; but he made a declaration in reply to "a long matter proposed by the Bishop of Winchester," which seems no less evasive than the Bishop's statements were explicit. Gardiner expressly said, among other things, that he had remained a member of Henry's Privy Council to the last, and that his abilities were so much esteemed that, about a fortnight before the King's death, he was deputed to confer in the Council's name with ambassadors of Scotland, France, and the Emperor.[1] These positive facts, of course, could not be denied; but interrogations were addressed by the Council to a number of witnesses to gain credence for various things, among others for a report that King Henry had expressly desired that the Bishop should not be of the Privy Council to his son, and that shortly before his death he had caused his name to be removed from the list of his executors. On this subject the most specious answer came from Paget, who gave the particulars as follows:—

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[1] Lent was at hand, beginning this year on the 23rd February.

[2] Tytler, i. 21, 22.

[3] This appears from Leland's poetical address to Paget, which shows also how Gardiner sought to foster literary talent and rhetoric:—

"Tu Gardineri petiisti tecta diserti,
Eloquii sedem, Pieriique chori."

[4] Perhaps Maitland puts the matter rather strongly (*Essays on the Reformation*, p. 254) in saying that at this time he "was undoubtedly the bitter enemy of Gardiner," though he immediately explains this to mean that "he was one of the persons most fully determined to put Gardiner down and prevent him from being troublesome." He probably did not "bitterly" hate Gardiner, who evidently did not expect his gross ingratitude; but, being a politician all over, he knew well that the Bishop was not the sort of shifty man that the times required. For the story of Gardiner and Paget, see Maitland, Essay XVI.

> And touching the putting of the said Bishop out of his testament, it is true that upon St. Stephen's day[2] at night, four years now past, his Majesty, having been very sick and in some peril, after his recovery forthwith called for the Duke of Somerset's Grace, for the Lord Privy Seal,[3] for my Lord of Warwick,[4] for the late Master of the Horse,[5] for Master Denny,[6] for the Master of the Horse that now is,[7] and for the said Lord Paget, at that time his Secretary; and then willed Master Denny to fetch his testament. Who bringeth forth first a form of testament which his Majesty liked not after he had heard, saying that was not it, but there was another of a later making, written with the hand of the Lord Wriothesley being Secretary; which when Master Denny had fetched and

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[1] Maitland (citing Foxe), p. 261.

[2] St. Stephen's Day is the 26th December. Henry VIII.'s will was dated 30th December 1546.

[3] Lord Russell, who had become Earl of Bedford at the date of the deposition.

[4] Dudley, who was only Lord Lisle in Henry VIII.'s time.

[5] Sir Anthony Browne.

[6] Sir Anthony Denny.

[7] Sir William Herbert, who was made Earl of Pembroke a few months after the date of this deposition.

he heard it, he seemed to marvel that some were left out unnamed in it whom he said he meant to have in and some in whom he meant to have out; and so bade the said Lord Paget, in the presence of the foresaid Lords, to put in some that were not named before, *and to put out the Bishop of Winchester's name,* which was done.[1]

At this time, however, as I have said, Paget was undoubtedly very busy. On the 6th February—the day after Gardiner wrote to him about the Earl of Oxford's players—a Council was held in the Tower at which Paget informed those present what intentions the late King had entertained as to the bestowal of titles to recruit the ranks of the decayed nobility, and of lands and emoluments to them and others.[2] The list of grantees was read out, and the Council acted, to a large extent, on the report of the dead King's intentions. Hertford became Duke of Somerset; his brother Thomas, Lord Seymour of Sudeley; the Earl of Essex (Katharine Parr's brother), Marquis of Northampton; and the Viscount Lisle (Dudley, the Lord Admiral), Earl of Warwick. There were also other creations, among which Lord Chancellor Wriothesley was made Earl of Southampton.

New creations.

But, even before this important business, some other things had been agreed upon at the same meeting of the Council. First of all, orders were given for payment of pensions to the murderers of Cardinal Beton, and for the wages of eighty men inside the castle of St. Andrews, and forty horsemen outside, to defend it more effectually against the Scottish Government. Then—a matter of more domestic concern—as the bishops, ever since the establishment of royal supremacy, had exercised their spiritual authority by virtue of "instruments under the Seal appointed *ad res ecclesiasticas*," of which Paget had the keeping, it was thought proper that they should receive new licences under the same form as before, as their authority had come to an end by the death of their late Sovereign; and Paget was instructed to affix the seal to each licence so applied for. There was other business also, among which it is recorded that the Protector conferred knighthood on the young King.[1]

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[1] Maitland (from Foxe), p. 263.

[2] Dasent, ii. 16.

Further correspondence of Gardiner and Paget.

Out of the determination about the bishops apparently arose a rather unpleasant correspondence between Paget and Gardiner. It would seem that Gardiner, though he had acknowledged, and even defended royal supremacy in the late reign, did not think it right that bishops should be called upon now to renew their licences. At all events he wrote to Paget in a way that made the latter reply in a tone of querulous self-vindication. Whatever some persons reported of him, he said, he was not the man to "nip or snatch any person," or usurp a greater power than he possessed. He had not done all that he might have done with the favour of his dead master. He had never loved extremes or hindered any man's access to the King, except notable malefactors. "And in public causes," he added, "I will say and do as I have done always since I have been in the place, according to my conscience, without lending the same, either to life, honor, wife, children, lands or goods; and yet not with such a forwardness or wilfulness, but that a good man or a better conscience may lead and rule me." We should note Tytler's comment, however, on this display of conscientiousness: "Good set words these of Master Secretary Paget's, and yet in 1552 he was deprived of his office and fined £2000 for peculation."

"I malign not bishops," Paget continues, "but would that both they and all others were in such order as might be most to the glory of God and the benefit of this realm; and much less I malign your lordship, but wish you well. And if the estate of bishops is or shall be thought meet to be reformed,

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[1] Dasent, ii. 12-14.

I wish either that you were no bishop, or that you could have such a pliable will as could bear the reformation that should be thought meet for the quiet of the realm. Your lordship shall have your commission in as ample manner as I have authority to make out the same, and in an ampler manner than you had it before; which I think you may execute now with less fear of danger than you have had cause hitherto to do. No man wisheth you better than I do, which is as well as to myself. If you wish me not like [? the like] you are in the wrong. And thus I take my leave of your lordship."[1]

This letter is dated from Westminster on the 2nd March. As early as the 6th February Paget had received authority to give licences to bishops to exercise their functions in the new reign; and it may be inferred from his own words that this step was intended as the prelude to a great reform of the episcopal order, while as yet there seemed no adequate authority to bring any such change about, and no security whatever that it could be kept within bounds. How could Gardiner have relished such intelligence? The new reign was to be ushered in with a renewed assertion of royal supremacy, stronger, if anything, than before. Bishops were not to be even bishops for life, or at least were not to exercise their spiritual jurisdiction under a new sovereign without fresh royal licences, and their renewed authority, which could be revoked at pleasure,[2] was to be derived from a boy. All this foreboded a revolution. And Archbishop Cranmer had led the way by procuring a fresh licence for himself, no doubt with the most perfect willingness; for it was issued on the 7th February,[1] the very earliest date at which it could have been granted.

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[1] Tytler, i. 24-6.

[2] Cranmer's own licence bears the words: "Licentiamus per præsentes ad nostrum beneplacitum duntaxat duraturas." In the preamble, moreover, it is expressly declared that all jurisdiction, secular or spiritual, proceeds from the royal power as from a supreme head, and that it was the duty of those who had hitherto exercised such functions precariously to acknowledge that they owed them entirely to the King's liberality and that they would surrender them again to the King whenever required.

No sure foundation of Government.

The stability of the new Government might possibly have been, even from the first, a matter of speculation; and if it had depended very much on constitutional theories and the correct interpretation of legal documents, it would certainly have been somewhat precarious. Two guiding principles had been laid down—royal supremacy and the late King's will—which no one ventured to dispute. But how to make either of these principles effective, or not to assert the one at the expense of the other, was a problem from the first. The very appointment of a Protector seemed almost a violation of the will, which gave no precedence to any one executor or councillor over his fellows. This objection, indeed, is said to have been actually made by Lord Chancellor Wriothesley; and though I know not the original authority for the statement, I am not prepared to question it, for it was only reasonable that a Lord Chancellor should suggest the doubt. But too much has certainly been built upon this fact, if fact it be, as it is quite clear that the Lord Chancellor did not insist upon the objection; for he not only acquiesced in the general agreement come to, but even announced it in the name of the executors to the Council. And the need of the Council having a head or leader, who could take upon himself special responsibility for acts of State and intimate the decisions of the King's Government to other Powers, was so obvious that the act could not well be questioned.[2]

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[1] Cardwell's *Documentary Annals*, i. 1. On the 18th August following Sir William Petre had the custody of the Seal *ad causas ecclesiasticas*, and was empowered to append it without special warrant to all instruments brought to him in due course for enabling bishops or other dignitaries to use their accustomed spiritual jurisdiction. Dasent's *Acts of the Privy Council*, ii. 114, 115.

[2] Comp. the *Acts of the Privy Council* (Dasent, ii. 1-8) with evidences

Somerset endeavours to secure his position.

But, reasonable as the appointment itself may have been, Somerset felt that for his own security and that of the Council also, in case the King chose, when he should come of age, to call any of them to account for what they had done in his minority, it was necessary to obtain a commission bearing the young King's sign manual, which was duly passed under the Great Seal, confirming his own authority as Protector and that of the Council in their respective offices; and this was determined on Sunday the 13th March.[1] A certified copy of the commission was also ordered, that it might be delivered next day to the French envoy, the Baron de la Garde, then on the point of returning to his master, Francis I., with two new treaties concluded on the 11th, which had been rendered necessary by the death of Henry VIII.[2] But apparently Somerset had already taken action in advance of the Council, and had got the commission passed under the Great Seal on the 12th, the day before it was authorised.[3] So, to make everything right, on the 21st the obedient Council "did further agree and determine that the whole tenor of the said commission" should likewise be exemplified in their records. And there, accordingly, it is still to be found—a most remarkable commission, which certainly amounted to much more than a confirmation of things that had been already sanctioned. For it virtually placed both the care of the young King's person and education, and the whole government of the realm till he should be eighteen years of age, in the hands of his uncle, the Protector, who was to be at liberty to add new members to the

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produced by Nichols in *Archæologia*, xxx. 466 *sq.* The objection proposed by the Lord Chancellor is stated as a fact by Burnet, perhaps correctly; but the story is amplified by Froude (vol. v. p. 4), without any apparent warrant.

[1] Dasent, ii. 63.

[2] Rymer, xv. 135, 139. Comp. *Nég. de M. de Selve*, p. 115; and Dasent, ii. 65.

[3] Dasent, ii. 67-74; Burnet, v. 140-46.

Council, according to his own judgment. Thus should Somerset have been secure against displacement till the year 1555, though, in fact, he was supplanted six years earlier. Of this, however, enough will be said in due time. For the present we have to note how the state of religion was affected by the new-formed Government.

St. Martin's, Ironmonger Lane.

At the very first we find a positive discouragement of novelties; for a case of unauthorised innovation in the city of London was put down at the instance of Bishop Bonner and the Lord Mayor. The incumbent and churchwardens of St. Martin's, Ironmonger Lane, had in the preceding year ventured to remove the images and crucifix, setting up the King's arms in place of the latter, and inscribing not only them but the walls with various texts of Scripture "whereof some were perversely translated." This matter was brought to the notice of the King's Council on the 10th February. The excuse given was that the roof, which was in great decay, had to be taken down in March of the preceding year, and that the crucifix and other images were so rotten that they could not be set up again. The incumbent and churchwardens, however, owned that they had taken down images sometimes because they considered that parishioners had committed idolatry before them. But they were sorry if they had done amiss, and instead of being committed to the Tower, as was at first intended, they were ordered immediately, under sureties, to set up a new crucifix, to be ready by the first Sunday in Lent at the furthest.[1]

Bishop Barlow proposes reforms.

But in Lent those appointed to preach before the King were all of the new school, and their sermons greatly disquieted Gardiner. One of them was Barlow, Bishop of St. David's, who took occasion in his sermon to point at several abuses in religion and lay down a "platform" of reformation. On this,

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[1] Dasent, ii. 25, 26.

Gardiner wrote to the Protector of the danger of allowing innovations at a time when there was enough to do otherwise. "There was never attempt of alteration made in England," he wrote, "but upon comfort of discord at home; and woe to them that mind it! If my lord of St. David's and such others have their heads encumbered with any new platform, I would wish they were commanded between this and the King's full age to draw the plat diligently, to hew the stones, dig the sand, and chop the chalk in the unseasonable time of building; and when the King cometh to full age, to present their labors to him, and in the meantime not to disturb the state of the realm, whereof your Grace is Protector."[1]

This admonition to Somerset is noteworthy as proceeding from one of the most consistent politicians and churchmen of the day. Gardiner had accepted royal supremacy under Henry VIII. as a virtual necessity, and had even defended it to an extent which he afterwards regretted; for, being required to write, he had gone the length of palliating, if not actually vindicating, the executions of saintly men like Fisher and More. No doubt he was conscious even now that he had gone too far; but to the doctrine of the supremacy itself, as he had given his adhesion to it, he remained at this time quite as loyal as Cranmer. In fact, he was even more loyal to the principles to which he was already committed. For however fully the late King's will had provided for the conduct of secular affairs during the minority, the doctrines and principles of the Church were a very different matter. A mere boy could not be an insular pope, such as Henry had virtually made himself; and Henry's will neither did nor could dispose of the stewardship of things spiritual in the way in which it had laid down methods of administration in things temporal. Henry himself had always maintained that he and his realm were true to Catholic principles; and any change in vital matters now would have a most disturbing effect.

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[1] Foxe, vi. 25.

Court preachers denounce images and fasting.

But it was only too clear that the door of innovation was to be thrust open in the way that Gardiner dreaded, and he was compelled to address a remonstrance to Dr. Ridley, another of the Lenten Court preachers, for expressing himself too freely about images in churches, holy water, and other ceremonies. What Ridley had said we do not exactly know, but its tendency seems to have been towards the abolition of all images, treating them as idols after the favourite philosophy of the new school, whereas all that was to be avoided, Gardiner wrote, was excess in worshipping, "wherein," he pointed out, "the Church of Rome hath been very precise." But Ridley was outdone by a Dr. Glasier who, preaching at Paul's Cross, affirmed "that the Lent was not ordained of God to be fasted, neither the eating of flesh to be forborne, but that the same was a politic ordinance of men, and might therefore be broken by men at their pleasures."[1] And Archbishop Cranmer himself, it would seem, "this year did eat meat openly in Lent in the hall of Lambeth, the like of which was never seen since England was a Christian country."[2]

The Coronation.

No doubt the hands of the Council were strengthened for a progressive policy by the Coronation which had taken place at Westminster on Quinquagesima Sunday, the 20th February; for the rite was always considered to invest the Sovereign with a personal authority which was lacking before it. And just a fortnight later an indiscretion of Lord Chancellor Wriothesley enabled them to get rid of the only layman among them who was likely to offer much opposition to their designs. He had delegated his powers to a commission which the common law judges declared to be unauthorised and injurious to their jurisdiction. On the 6th March[1] the case was heard before the Council, and on the 7th he was deprived of the Great Seal, which was given to the keeping of the Lord St. John until a Chancellor could be appointed. Wriothesley was further punished by fine and imprisonment and removal for a time from the Council.

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[1] Stowe's *Annals*, p. 194. This was in April according to Stowe, and if during Lent it must have been before the 10th, which was Easter Sunday.

[2] The words are quoted by Froude (v. 34) from "a MS. contemporary diary by some unknown writer." It is a pity that Froude has not given us a specific reference to the MS.

A new Lord Chancellor.

It was not for some months that a new Chancellor was found, and the man appointed then could not well be called a man of higher character than Wriothesley; for he was no other than Lord Riche—that very Richard Riche who, when he was Solicitor-General, had been accused to his face of perjury by Sir Thomas More in open court. Such an appointment does not indicate a very high standard of morals in Edward VI.'s Council. Neither does their policy in matters of religion commend itself to the plain dealer. On the Thursday (10th March) after Wriothesley was deprived of the Chancellorship they agreed to lend, in strict secrecy, a sum of 50,000 crowns to the Protestants of Germany to support them in their war against the Emperor. Their ambassadors were then in England petitioning for aid, and Paget was authorised to promise them, "as of himself," to procure a loan for them to that amount;[2] but it must not appear to be the doing of the English Government at all. That was a kind of diplomacy of which we see much in the sixteenth century.

Gardiner's remonstrance against ill-treatment of images.

Nor was there less duplicity in dealing with religious matters at home. Bishop Gardiner was distressed at some disorders within his diocese which he was at a loss how to deal with. On the 3rd May he wrote to Captain Vaughan at Portsmouth that he had been informed of "a great and detestable innovation" in that town, where the images of Christ and the saints had been pulled down and otherwise maltreated. He had written, he said, to him and the mayor as the King's chief ministers there, to know the exact truth and take counsel with them for reformation of matters. If things were not very bad he would send a preacher there for next Sunday, but to a multitude bent on the destruction of images he would never preach; "for, as scripture willeth us, we should cast no precious stones before hogs." Those infected with that opinion, he said, were hogs and worse than hogs. "In England they were called Lollards, who, denying images, thought there withal the crafts of painting and graving to be generally superfluous and naught, and against God's laws." In Germany those who maintained that opinion were accounted the dregs of Luther's brewings, and Luther himself had written a book against them. Gardiner, when in Germany, had seen with his own eyes the images standing in all churches where Luther was held in estimation. And he added some further remarks in defence of images as documents which all could read, while books could only be read by the educated.[1]

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[1] Dasent, ii. 48 *sq.* "Sonday the vth of Marche" is a mistake, as the fifth was a Saturday.

[2] *Ib.* 60.

The Protector's answer.

Captain Vaughan forwarded the letter to the Protector, to whom also the Bishop had written upon the subject himself; and after a time the Protector sent Gardiner an elaborate answer, which, it may be fairly surmised, was not drawn up without careful consultation with Cranmer. At the outset he suggested that Gardiner was too much afraid of innovation and disturbance, and that too much outcry was likely to bring on both. The late King's order about images did not intend the general destruction of all images, but only of such as "did adulterate God's glory." Yet in the Protector's opinion it would be better (for a time) to abolish them all, rather than that dead images should create variance among the King's loving subjects. As to the comparison of images with books, why should a man be more grieved at the burning of an image of wood, though it were of St. Anne or St. Margaret, than that the Bible, which comprised the undoubted word of God, should be torn in pieces, burned, or made paste of? Yet this was daily done, and sometimes commanded, because the translator displeased people; while the burning of one image, either because it was old, or worm-eaten, or foolishly abused, shocked some men as much as if a true saint of flesh and bone were cast into the fire. Gardiner had made an allusion in his argument to the images on the Great Seal carried by a king's pursuivant. Even a man who could not read the inscriptions, he said, would take off his cap when he saw the image of "St. George on horseback" on the one side of the Seal and the King sitting in his majesty on the other; and nobody would call the Seal only a piece of wax or wilfully break it to make a candle of. That Gardiner in this made a positive blunder, would have been strange in a man of his experience; he only adopted popular language in calling the figure of the King on horseback on the obverse of the Seal St. George. But the Protector seized upon the point in connection with the argument that images were books, and told him that he had misread a very common image. For it was the King who was represented on both sides of the Seal—as a commander in war on horseback and as a ruler in peace, sitting in the seat of justice. And some had thought that by a similar mistake the image of Bellerophon or Perseus had been turned into one of St. George, and the image of Polyphemus, Hercules, or some other Colossus, into St. Christopher, because there was no authentic evidence about them.

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[1] Foxe, vi. 26-8.

But whether these originated in fact or fable was really no great matter.

Then, after some inquiry as to what Gardiner meant by true and false images, came a rather significant passage: "It may be thought in times past and, peradventure, at this time, in some places, the images not only of St. John and St. Anne, but of our Lady and Christ, be false images, representing to foolish, blind and ignorant men's hearts and thoughts that which was not in them, and they ought not to be made for. The which were by you, my Lord, to have been removed sooner and before that the captain there should have need to have done it. But if your Lordship be slack in such matters, he that removeth false images and idols abused doth not a thing worthy of blame." In the end the Protector said that there were some who thought every attempt to reform old abuses a capital enterprise against all religion and good order, while others were rash and inconsiderate. The magistrate's duty was between these two, to "provide that old doting should not take further or deeper rust in the commonwealth," and yet to reform with gentleness, and, if possible, without contention.[1]

Encouragement of lawlessness.

It was easy to see beneath a form (scarcely even a show) of judicial impartiality in such a letter that the crusade against images, which had begun long ago by illegal acts like that at Dovercourt in 1532,[2] and had been afterwards encouraged by authority, was now to be carried further than before. The law and practice of the Church were to be revolutionised, and bishops were to be kept in a strange subordination. Not only had they been compelled to take out new licences for the discharge of their spiritual duties, but by a recent order they were forbidden to preach anywhere but in their own cathedrals.[3] What was to become of the episcopal government of the Church if it was to be bound and shackled in this way by the sole authority, apparently, of Cranmer and the Protector Somerset?

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[1] Foxe, vi. 28-30.

[2] See Vol. I. pp. 338-9.

[3] "And even as now, at this time, bishops be restrained by a special policy to preach only in their cathedral churches (the like whereof hath not

The Protector's communications with De Selve.

I interrupt for the present the account of this correspondence between Gardiner and the Protector, to take note of what the Protector said to the French ambassador just two days after it began. M. de Selve wrote from London to Henry II. on the 6th May of an interview that he had had with Somerset the day preceding, in which he had complained of some incursions by the English into French territory at Guisnes. The Protector professed to have no knowledge of the subject and promised inquiry through the Deputy of Calais. In further conversation he insinuated that the real object of the late King Francis I., in the recent mission to England of M. de la Garde, was to see if England would give assistance to the German Protestants. This the ambassador denied, and Somerset then told him he had received news of the defeat and capture of John Frederic of Saxony at Mühlberg. Somerset next made some complaints on points of diplomacy in connection with the accession of the new King of France, but declared himself quite satisfied with the reply made by De Selve. After reporting these things the despatch goes on to say:—

> Sire, I have not failed to speak to the Protector of the safe-conduct of which you were pleased to write to me, but I could not get any other answer from him than that the late King of England at his death had very expressly commanded both him and all others of his Council to keep not only the laws, but all else in the state of the realm in such condition as he had left them, without changing anything, and that there was nothing that the whole people

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been known in my time), so, upon another occasion your Grace may percase think expedient to restrain (further than the Parliament hath already done) the common reading of the scripture, as is now restrained the bishops' liberty of preaching."—Gardiner to the Protector, in Foxe, vi. 37.

of this country had so much at heart as being exempt from the power of the Pope; and if safe conduct were granted for some of his ministers to come hither, the people would think some change was intended, and might rise or create disturbance in consequence. At last he said that to grant the said safe-conduct was a thing that he could not do, and that he thanked you greatly on the part of the King his master, for having made the request in such a gracious and moderate manner.[1]

Thus it appears that the new King of France, Henry II., a strong upholder of the Church of Rome, had ventured to suggest through his ambassador the admission of a papal envoy into England; that he was met with the reply, first of all, that Henry VIII. had strictly charged the Council to allow no change whatever in the principles of religion and government such as he left them at his death; and further, that anything which might suggest a return to Rome would be so unpopular as to endanger the public peace. We may attach what value we please to these pretences; but it remains surely a fact that the Council of Edward VI. was commonly understood to have no authority to make changes in religion such as they were actually making at that very time. And the public were not without good warrant for this opinion, as will be seen hereafter. As for the anti-papal feeling among the populace, there was probably a good deal of it by this time, seeing that it had been so sedulously cultivated by the Court for about seventeen years past.

Now let us return to the correspondence of Gardiner with the Protector. The last letter noticed was one of Somerset's written on the 27th May. But before receiving it Gardiner had written to him again on the 21st a very long letter, first on the subject of "two books set forth in English by Bale, very pernicious, seditious, and slanderous." He

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[1] *Négociations de M. de Selve*, pp. 139, 140.

Bale's publication about Anne Askew.

was grieved to see, published so soon after the late King's death, a book so much to his dishonour as to set forth a woman who suffered under his laws as a saint and martyr, when it appeared by Bale's own "Elucidation," as he called it, that she was a sacramentary, and as such justly and legally condemned. Of course this was the *Examination of Anne Askew.* And yet Bale's other book was on the death of Luther, whom he likewise commended as a saint—Luther who, with all his faults, so strongly affirmed what Anne Askew denied, the real presence of Christ's natural body in the Sacrament. So that Bale's saints might vary in heaven, if they did not fall out by the way! Nor was this the only trouble. The Protector had already promised to Gardiner that he would allow no innovation, and he hoped he would deliver the realm up to the King, when he came of age, as his father left it. But "certain printers, players, and preachers, make a wonderment as though we knew not yet how to be justified, nor what sacraments we should have"; and if they despised the religious settlement made in Henry VIII.'s time, what stability could there be for any new agreement? Every man would be his own master. "And one thing is marvellous," adds Gardiner, in a passage to be explained presently, "that at the same time it is taught that all men be liars, at the self-same time almost every man would be believed; and amongst them, Bale, when his untruth appeareth evidently in setting forth the examination of Anne Askew, which is utterly misreported."

He goes on to mention a curious prayer set forth by Bale for John, Duke of Saxony (John Frederic), who had since been taken prisoner at the battle of Mühlberg. The Duke had desired God, if his cause was not good, to order him to be taken and spoiled of his possessions. This he had been; and there was a marvellous appearance of the sun at the time of his capture, such as had never been seen, though whether the one event "were a token ordered to concur with the other," man could not define. But Germany with her new religion could never have stood, even if the Emperor had let the Protestants alone. "Many commonwealths have continued without the Bishop of Rome's jurisdiction; but without true religion, and with such opinions as Germany maintained no estate hath continued," wrote Gardiner.

Turning again to home affairs he laments that rhymes were set forth to deprave the Lent, which were bought readily, though they could only teach people to rail and not to make provision for next year's fast. Fishmongers would never hope to have good sale; "and fish is the great treasure of this realm and food inestimable. And these good words I give," wrote Gardiner, "although I love it not myself; for such as love not fish, should nevertheless commend it to others, to the intent, the flesh by them forborne, might be, to such as love it, only the more plenty." Interesting this, as showing Gardiner's opinion that though there were lovers of fish, fishmongers could hardly depend on the mere natural demand for it; and he adds that the public defamation of Lent would give England a bad repute among the nations.[1]

To this letter the Protector replied, observing that it was another evidence of the Bishop's great dread of innovation, which he did not blame. But the world was never so quiet or united that printers, players, and preachers would not set forth somewhat of their own heads of which the magistrates were unaware. Gardiner had seen more than he had of those foolish and objectionable rhymes; but he must not lay them to the Protector's charge. Even under the tyranny of Rome, Pasquin spoke freely, and during the late reign in England many such things were unpunished. It seemed Gardiner had been very much dissatisfied with the recent recantation of Dr. Richard Smith, to which he made covert allusion in one passage, for it began with the words *Omnis homo mendax*. But Smith was a learned man and his recantation was quite unforced. As to Lent, there was no intention to abolish it till the King with his Council took some other order. Quiet might be broken just as easily by jealousy as by negligence.[1] Such was the Protector's answer.

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[1] Foxe, vi. 30-32.

Dr. Smith's recantation.

Some other letters passed on both sides which, owing to Gardiner's secretary having been robbed, do not appear to be extant. But after them he wrote another long letter to the Protector, explaining various things, especially what he had done about the Portsmouth outrages; for he had visited the place himself and was very well received by the captain, but the offenders could not be discovered. One eye of an image of Christ crucified had been deliberately bored out, and the side pierced—a thing all the more scandalous, "for it is a very persecution beyond the sea, used in that form where the person cannot be apprehended." This was what made him write to the captain in the way he had done.

Gardiner and Henry VIII.

But the most interesting part of this letter is a passage at the beginning, in which he was led to speak of his relations with the late King. He said he had "digested easily" the main contents of the Protector's budget, having been accustomed to that fashion of writing in King Henry's days. His Majesty himself called it "whetting," and Gardiner confessed it was not always very pleasant to him. "Yet," he goes on to say, "when I saw in my doings was no hurt, and sometimes, by the occasion thereof, the matter amended, I was not so coy as always to reverse my argument; nor, so that his affairs went well, did

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[1] *Op. cit.* 34-6.

I ever trouble myself whether he made me a wanton or not. And when such as were privy to his letters directed unto me were afraid I had been in high displeasure (for the terms of the letters sounded so), yet I myself feared it nothing at all. I esteemed him, as he was, a wise prince; and whatsoever he wrote or said for the present, he would after consider the matter as wisely as any man, and neither hurt nor inwardly disfavor him that had been bold with him; whereof I serve for a proof, for no man could do me hurt during his life. And when he gave me the bishopric of Winchester, he said he had often *squared* with me, but he loved me never the worse; and for a token thereof gave me the bishopric. And once, when he had been vehement with me in the presence of the Earl of Wiltshire, and saw me dismayed with it, he took me apart into his bed-chamber, and comforted me, and said that his displeasure was not so much to me as I did take it; but he misliked the matter, and he durst more boldly direct his speech to me than to the Earl of Wiltshire. And from that day forward he could not put me out of courage, but if any displeasant words passed from him, as they did sometimes, I folded them up in 'the matter'; which hindered me a little. For I was reported unto him that I stooped not and was stubborn, and he had commended unto me certain men's gentle nature (as he called it) that wept at every of his words; and methought that my nature was as gentle as theirs, for I was sorry when he was moved. But else I know when the displeasure was not justly grounded in me, I had no cause to take thought, nor was I at any time in all my life miscontent or grudging at anything done by him, I thank God for it."[1]

These are evidently not boastful words, and they give us a very remarkable picture of two great characters—a faithful servant and a discriminating master. It is something to be able to see a good point in Henry VIII., and there really was much that was good in him as a ruler, when his passions had not committed him to an unworthy course, and his obstinacy had not blinded him for a time; no king under such circumstances was ever more judicious and impartial. But though even Wolsey knew that he could not turn him aside from a wilful policy, Gardiner found that he could endure a frank remonstrance without being really displeased—or that if he was put out for the moment it was only a passing cloud, and did not really weaken the regard in which he habitually held him. That Gardiner never yielded what he ought not to have done to the imperious despot it would be too much to say; he knew that he had done so, and expressed his repentance openly in later years, when it was safe to express it. But it is remarkable that in days when Henry himself did not like to offend Anne Boleyn's father, the Earl of Wiltshire, he was careful to let Gardiner know that it was mainly on account of the Earl's presence that he had spoken to him so sharply.

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[1] Foxe, vi. 36.

Further, it appears by the same letter that the question of images had once been debated between Gardiner and Archbishop Cranmer before Henry VIII. himself at his palace of Newhall in Essex, when the whole subject was very thoroughly discussed, and the King had answered some of the arguments now advanced by the Protector. "And when he had himself," Gardiner continued, "specially commanded divers images to be abolished, yet, as your Grace knoweth, he both ordered, and himself put in execution, the kneeling and creeping before the image of the Cross, and established agreement in that truth through all this realm, whereby all arguments to the contrary be assoiled at once." He adds that he only wished such use of images preserved as was prescribed in "the King's Book." In reply to further arguments, it might be enough for him to say, like St. Paul, "We have no such custom in the Church." When the King came of age God would doubtless reveal what was necessary for his people in religion. Edward himself, as Gardiner understood, had lately expressed approval of the "procession" which men followed in his father's time (this was a litany chanted in procession). "Upon which the King's Majesty's saying, the procession, as I heard, was well furnished afterwards by your Grace's commandment." This speech of young Edward's might be a warning that if the bishops and clergy should agree to any alteration in religion derogatory to what had been settled by his father (thereby suggesting that his father had been wanting either in knowledge or in zeal for truth), he might, perhaps, say something very unpleasant against the bishops. The Protector's plea was that, as representing the King, he only desired truth according to the Scriptures, and Gardiner was afraid that the Bishops would be accused of "fashioning the matter as they lusted" during a minority. On which some young man who wanted a portion of the Bishops' lands would say, "The beastly bishops have always done so; and when they can no longer maintain one of their pleasures of rule and superiority, then they take another way and let that go, and, for the time they be here, spend up what they have"; and so forth. Nothing would serve the policy of the Bishop of Rome better than an alteration of religion during the King's minority, suggesting that whenever his authority was abolished, religion would be changed with every change of government. It would also give rise to unpleasant remark if the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was so much in the late King's confidence, and the Bishop of Durham (Tunstall), a man so renowned for learning, both of whom were put in trust by Henry for counsel in the order of the realm, "should so soon forget their old knowledge in Scripture set forth by His Majesty's Book," and advise such alteration. This, however, he could not believe, and, though there had been rumours to that effect, the Protector had stayed them by proclamation.[1]

But from two further letters to the Protector, both written, apparently, in June, it appeared that Archbishop Cranmer was reviving a proposal for the use of certain homilies which had been the subject of discussion in Convocation five years before (in 1542). Nothing had been done about them then, and Gardiner did not think it advisable, or even legitimate, to take action upon them now. It might even revive the "vain rumors" that had been stopped by the Protector's proclamation.[2] The Archbishop's authority, however, prevailed, and the *First Book of Homilies* was issued on the 31st July. The royal injunctions of Edward VI. were also issued on the same day. The Protector and the Archbishop had resolved to make some alterations in the King's name, even during his minority.

Cranmer and the *Homilies.*

And thus began a new stage of the infant Reformation. A policy of innovation had triumphed, and royal supremacy was now to be the warrant even for acts done in a minority. Royal supremacy! Many men had been ill enough reconciled to that principle even in the days of Henry VIII. But it had been established in his days, not only by extraordinary skill and diplomacy in the first place, bringing about the Submission of the Clergy and the Act of Supremacy itself, but also by the ruthless way it was enforced against two or three small bands of martyrs, who could not be persuaded to give up allegiance to Rome. A few victims, brutally executed, were naturally quite enough; very few cared to follow them and merit death for the Pope's sake; and when Rome's authority was abolished there was no other authority in spiritual matters but the King's. Besides, in such things the majority of his subjects would naturally find it easier to trust a King who seemed so well versed in questions alike of Church and State. If this great, powerful, diplomatic Sovereign knew his own ground in a controversy with the Pope, even though he did carry matters somewhat further than any of his predecessors had done, who among all his faithful liegemen was likely to take exception to his acts? But the authority of a boy stood quite on a different footing; and even in ordinary matters of government his father had attempted to guard against serious changes being made during any minority which might occur after his own day. For just after his marriage with Jane Seymour in 1536, the year before young Edward was born, Henry VIII. had procured an Act of Parliament to be passed, giving any of his successors who should come to the throne under age power to annul by letters patent any Acts of Parliament that had been passed during his earlier years as soon as he should reach the age of twenty-four.[1] This statute, if it were allowed to remain in force, could not but act as a very serious restraint on unnecessary legislation during the minority; and it certainly seems to have been regarded by those who knew it as a provision that ought to have been respected. But of course no Act of Parliament could bind a future legislature, and as Somerset found it inconvenient he very soon got it repealed, as will presently be shown. Meanwhile, however, he was not to be restrained from doing precisely as he intended to do, even in matters concerning the Church.

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[1] Foxe, vi. 36-41.

[2] *Ib.* p. 41, 42.

No attempt, indeed, was made to carry things with a rush. It was enough, when not encouraging isolated Lollard outbreaks, to build upon principles already laid down. A general Visitation of the whole kingdom was resolved on, which began in the autumn just before the Protector's return from his successful campaign in Scotland; and the Bishops, whose visiting powers were thus for a time superseded, were expected to receive with submission the injunctions and homilies drawn up.[1] The Bishops had, of course, learned submission to some extent when they were obliged to take out licences, and they had known what royal injunctions were in the time of Cromwell. But, though Thirlby and others made no remonstrance, Bishop Bonner at St. Paul's met the royal visitors with a sort of modified submission. He would observe the injunctions and homilies, he said, if they were not contrary to God's law and the ordinances of the Church. Even he, however, reconsidered the matter on being called before the Council, and desired to recall his protest as unreasonable and of bad example; notwithstanding which submission, the Council thought it well to commit him for a time to the Fleet prison. The injunctions were then carried out in St. Paul's and throughout the diocese. Images were taken out of the churches and destroyed, the walls were whitewashed, and the Ten Commandments written up.

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[1] Statute 28 Hen. VIII. c. 51. This Act is very notable as showing how completely the personal authority of the Sovereign was in Henry's opinion, and probably to a large extent in the opinion of his subjects also, necessary to the validity of any law whatever. I have therefore thought it well to give the actual text of this Act in an appendix to the present chapter.

A general Visitation.

Bonner committed to the Fleet,

Gardiner was committed to the Fleet also very soon after Bonner, not for resisting the visitors, for they had not yet reached his diocese, but for expressing doubts about the legality of the visitation. He told the Council he was willing to consider the question if they would let him go to Oxford and dispute it first; but this was not allowed. He gave reasons for his opinion, but was arbitrarily sent to prison, and remained there for weeks in bad air and in ill-health, without being even allowed a physician for some time,

and Gardiner also.

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[1] See special injunctions to the Bishops in Wilkins, iv. 9.

though the Protector sent him one at last.[1] On Friday, 7th October, indeed, he was sent for by Cranmer to a conference at the house of the Dean of St. Paul's to discuss the Homily on Salvation; but he could not accept the Archbishop's arguments. "Where Scripture and doctors want," he wrote to Somerset, "my lord of Canterbury would fall to arguing and overcome me, that am called the sophister, by sophistry. . . . I am also charged," he added a little later, "that all the realm hath received these homilies without contradiction, save I; whereunto I answer, I think they have not read what I have read in these books."

There was absolutely no justification for his cruel imprisonment except that he had an opinion of his own, for which he was prepared to give reasons. He was quite ready to yield to weightier reasons if they could be produced, and he had not been guilty of one act of disobedience. He pointed out that Cranmer's teaching on justification was, even by his own words, "We be justified by faith without all works of the law: charity is a work of the law: *ergo*, we are justified without charity"—a conclusion which, even as a scholastic exercise, it would be difficult to defend; and Gardiner was ready to produce an answer made twelve hundred years before. But it was not necessary to import scholastic questions into "the use and practice" of the Church of England.[2] "And it was a terrible matter to think on," he adds, "to see such a contention to rise upon a matter not necessary to be spoken of. Wherein, if my lord of Canterbury will needs travail, my judgment is that he shall never persuade that faith excludeth charity in justification, unless he borrow of your Grace's authority prisons; and then he shall percase have some agree unto it, as poor men kneel at Rome when the Bishop[1] there goeth by—that is to say, are knocked on the head with a halbert if they kneel not; for that is one piece of the office of the Bishop of Rome's guard."

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[1] His letters to the Protector, written from the Fleet, will be found in Foxe, vi. 42-55, 140-42. The order in which they are printed is not chronological, and there are probably one or two whole letters omitted. In the first, at p. 42, some very telling passages have been omitted by Foxe, which will be found supplied in the Supplement to Strype's *Cranmer*, No. xxxvi.

[2] I have given here concisely the drift of Gardiner's argument as set forth on p. 49 of Foxe. But I hope the reader will appreciate the comment made upon it by Foxe himself: "Hereby it is evident that this insensible ass had no feeling of God's Spirit in the matter of justification."

Suffering much pain from his confinement, Gardiner ended this particular letter with some mild sarcasms. "I have things more to say," he wrote, "but this matter is over long already, and methinks I have been over long here; and, showing myself so humble a scholar as I have done, it is much to be beaten because I do not learn where no man teacheth me, and so willing to learn as I ask but one Scripture, or, Scripture failing (as it doth for my lord of Canterbury's purpose), I ask but one ancient doctor. This is my case; for as touching any act of disobedience, my lords of the Council did foresee that I should not fall in that danger, and therefore would not trust my frailty to be in the country when the Visitors should be there, but made me sure here lest I might have offended."[2]

Erasmus's *Paraphrase.*

Another thing which Gardiner felt that he could not but criticise was a translation of Erasmus's *Paraphrase on the New Testament*, which was issued along with the injunctions for the use of priests. As Bishop he could not accept these without remonstrance. Indeed, the *Paraphrase* and the injunctions, he showed, were directly opposed to each other. The homilies excluded charity in the office of justification; the *Paraphrase* required charity to be joined with faith; and other contradictions were pointed out. But as to the *Paraphrase*, it contained some special faults of Erasmus's own, and others that were due to the translator, who had, sometimes by ignorance, sometimes evidently of set purpose, put in, left out, and changed as he thought fit, never for the better but always for the worse. And the ample time that he had to criticise the work in prison, Gardiner said, only enabled him to discover new demerits every day. The work, he declared, was, in one word, an "abomination." Yet it was authorised by the King, and would cost purchasers throughout the realm £20,000 to procure it.[1]

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[1] "The Bishop" means the Pope, whom it was still unlawful to call by that name.

[2] Foxe, vi. 49, 50.

Changeable policy about images.

Meanwhile the Protector's policy about images was so ambiguous that the Council seem to have been almost at a loss what directions to give about it in his absence. For in the autumn he had led an invading army into Scotland and won the battle of Pinkie on the 10th September, adding, no doubt, to his influence with the Council by this additional proof of his skill as a general. He only returned south in October. Now, the ostensible policy of the Government about images was still what it had been under Henry VIII., still what even the Protector pretended while conniving at the outrages at Portsmouth. Some images, no doubt, had been "abused" with pilgrimages and other superstitions, but as yet the Government had not declared against all images in churches whatever. There had been disturbances in the country, and some images had undoubtedly been removed without authority. The Council, in fact, had decreed that the Lord Great Master[2] should, when he came to London, or perhaps on his way thither, take steps to punish those who had been guilty in this matter, and have the images that were taken down set up again. But on the 26th September they came to a contrary determination, as appears by a minute of that date, which it is only right to quote *verbatim* that the reader may form his own opinion of the state of mind which at this time prevailed among the rulers of England. It is in these words:—

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[1] Foxe, vi. 42, 47, 52, 53; Strype's *Cranmer*, App. xxx.

[2] William Paulet, Lord St. John, was the nobleman who held this office, and must have been absent at the date of the decree in question, though he was with the rest of the Council on the 12th August, and on the 20th, 25th, and 30th September. The decree was probably made in the beginning of September, or at least after the 12th August.

> 26 September. To the lord Admiral,[1] that where it was resolved that the lord Great Master, at his next repair to London should take order for punishing of those that had taken down images, having none authority so to do, and cause those so taken down [not?] having been abused, to be erected again; that, forasmuch it is now considered that if those should be erected again it might endanger contention among the people upon the point whether they were abused or no, that the said Admiral, now repairing to London, should declare to the said lord Great Master it were best not to meddle in the erection of those taken down until the return of the lord Protector; and yet that it should be proceeded to the punishment of the takers down without authority, as it was ordered.[2]

So men had done illegal, or at least unauthorised things, and were to be punished for having done them (whether this order also was recalled by some secret instruction may be a matter of speculation); but the Lord Great Master must forbear from acting on his former orders to set right again what the malefactors had set wrong. At least he must defer doing so till the Protector's return southwards; for it was really so very difficult to judge whether particular images had been "abused" or not. And we may take it as practically certain that the Protector, when he did come back, gave no orders for the "erection" of those images again; though whether a general taking down of them all or a partial setting up again of some would give most satisfaction to the country is a question that may admit, perhaps, of two opinions.

At least, if there be any doubt about this, the evidences are rather against the supposition that people in the country were pleased. For on the

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[1] Lord Seymour of Sudeley, the Protector's brother.

[2] Dasent, ii. 518.

23rd October, sometime after the Protector's return, he and the Council had to decide on the complaint of a Mr. Dowve "and certain others," who are not named, of St. Neot's in Huntingdonshire, for redress against "Sir Laurence Taylard knight and Oliver Leder esquire." Dowve and his companions had already "exhibited a supplication" to the Protector in person on his return through Huntingdonshire, showing that they had, according to the injunctions, "taken out of the church at St. Neot's certain images of abuse, which when they would not erect again at the motion thereunto of the said Sir Laurence and Oliver, and certain of the parish, [they] were therefore menaced and ill-treated" and a "certain tumult" had arisen. The Protector, at the time, had "amicably composed" the matter, giving charge to Sir Laurence and to Oliver Leder to molest Dowve and the others no further; but after his departure they continued to give them trouble. Of course it was necessary to protect those who had carried out the King's injunctions; and so Taylard and Leder, having been sent for, received peremptory orders to 'surcease' acts of malice towards the complainants on pain of severe punishment at the Council's discretion."[1]

The Council, indeed, were not prepared to endorse every kind of sacrilegious outrage. On the 8th November they agreed to send an order "to Simon Aunsell, Mayor of Feversham, to deliver, all excuses set apart, into the hands of Thomas Arderne, warden of the church of Feversham, the pix of silver by him of late taken from the church, which was given thither by one Hache, deceased, and had there continued by the space of twelve years and more."[2] Moreover they seem to have felt that even priests deserved a toleration that was not always accorded to them. And here again we must take the facts of the case from their own records. For on the

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[1] Dasent, ii. 140.

[2] *Ib.* p. 520.

12th November a proclamation[1] was ordered as follows:—

Ill-usage of priests.

"Forasmuch as the misorders of the serving men and other young and light persons and apprentices in London towards priests and those that go in scholars' gowns like priests hath of late, both in Westminster Hall and in other places of the City of London, been so great that not only it hath offended many men, but also [might?] have given great occasion, if on the parts of the said priests more wisdom and discretion had not been showed than of the other, of sedition and murder, or, at the least, of such other inconveniences as are not to be suffered in a commonwealth; as to the King's Highness and his most entirely beloved uncle, the Duke of Somerset, Governor of his most Royal Person, and Protector of all his realms, dominions and subjects, and the rest of his Majesty's Council, hath been credibly and certainly reported and showed: For reformation whereof the King's Majesty, by the advice of his said most dear uncle and other his Majesty's Council, willeth and straitly commandeth that no serving man nor apprentice or any other person, whatsoever he or they be, shall use hereafter such insolency and evil demeanor towards priests as revelling, tossing of them, taking violently their caps and tippets from them without just title or cause, nor otherwise to use them than as becometh the King's most loving subjects, one to do towards another, upon pain that whosoever shall do the contrary, and be upon the same taken with the manner, or if he shall appear upon complaint made by sufficient trial of witness or otherwise before the King's Highness's Council, or the mayor, sheriffs, or other sufficient judges to whom the complaint shall be made, the person thereof to be guilty; that then such offender or offenders, according to the quality of the fact for the time and place where it was committed, to suffer pain of imprisonment or other corporal pain to the example of all others, as to the discretion of the said Lord Protector, the King's Majesty's Council, or of the judges before whom the same is proved, seem convenient, which shall be such that by the punishment of a few all others may be afraid to use such insolency, violency, and ill demeanor, against any of the King's Majesty's subjects.

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[1] Dasent, ii. 521.

"GOD SAVE THE KING."

Parliament.

By this time Edward's first Parliament had assembled; for it met on the 4th November. That either House should be a true representative of the nation's feelings was hardly to be expected; that was not the state of matters under the Tudors generally, and certainly not in the minority of Edward VI.[1] Yet the Council could bear, in some quarters at least, a little mild expostulation, as the following minute of the 28th September serves to show:—

To the Sheriff of Kent, that when the Lords wrote to him afore to the end to make his friends for the election of Sir John Baker to be Knight of the Shire, understanding that he did abuse towards those of the Shire their request into a commandment, their Lordships advertise him that as they meant not, nor mean to deprive the Shire by any their commandment of their liberty of election (? electing) whom they should think meet, so nevertheless if they would, in satisfaction of their Lordships' request, grant their voices to Mr. Baker, they would take it thankfully.

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[1] "The cards," says Heylin, "were so well packed by Sir Ralph Sadler that there was no need of any more shuffling till the end of the game; this very Parliament without any sensible alteration of the members of it, being continued by prorogation from session to session, until at last it ended by the death of the King." Heylin is here guilty of a slight inaccuracy. One Parliament did, indeed, suffice for the purposes of those who ruled in Edward's name for nearly five years; but it was dissolved the year before his death and a new one assembled afterwards. For the rest I have no doubt Heylin had good authority for the statement that Sadler packed the Parliament. That was an art he had naturally learned from his old master, Thomas Cromwell.

A like letter to the lord Warden of the Cinque Ports with this addition, that being informed he should abuse their request to menace them of the Shire of Kent, as they would not believe it, so they advised him to use things in such sort as the Shire might have the free election."[1]

Kent, however, as had been found in former days, was a difficult county either to cajole or to overawe, and Sir John Baker, though he became Speaker of the new Parliament, had to apply to the electors of Huntingdonshire to give him a seat.[2]

The House of Lords was not generally so subservient as the Commons. But it was now largely composed of appropriators of Church lands, who oppressed and rackrented the peasantry. Such lords very naturally were staunch upholders of a new religion, which justified the confiscations by which they so greatly profited. And as for the bishops, who had once been the most independent members of that House, most of them owed their appointments to the fact that they had been very pliant to Henry VIII.'s despotism, as even Gardiner himself had been. But Gardiner was still in prison, and could not take his place in that assembly, nor even in the Convocation, which met the day after Parliament, and there were undoubtedly things done by both these bodies which would not have had his approval.

In fact, it was clearly a matter of policy to keep Gardiner still in prison; and just at this time also the venerable Bishop Tunstall, who certainly was the very reverse of a factious prelate, was deprived of his seat at the council table. So we are told by Heylin,[3] who must have had good authority for the statement. His name, indeed, disappears from the record of the Council after the 21st March, when he is distinctly named as a councillor,[4] but his signature has been found on privy seals with those of other councillors, once in May and twice in June this year.[1] From the *Acts of the Privy Council*, it would seem that he was only readmitted after the fall of Somerset in 1549, when we find him attending again on the 11th December.

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[1] Dasent, ii. 518, 519.

[2] Return of the names of Members, i. 175.

[3] *Ecclesia Restaurata*, i. 96.

[4] Dasent, ii. 70.

But now everything was ready for the Parliament, Lord Riche was made Chancellor on the 24th October, and Sir John Baker, having obtained a seat, was ready to be made Speaker of the House of Commons.

Parliament was opened by the young King in person on Friday the 4th November, and the Convocation of Canterbury met the next day at St. Paul's. Even the Secular Legislature had very soon much business thrown upon it bearing on religion; for indeed the aid of Parliament was requisite that Convocation might do some of the things expected of it. But we must first see what Convocation for its own sake desired to be done.

Convocation.

Having chosen a prolocutor, the Lower House soon presented to the President and prelates of the Upper, four petitions which are of strong significance, as showing how eager the lower clergy were that the Church should recover as much as possible of the liberties which it had lost under Henry VIII. These petitions were as follows:—

"First, that Ecclesiastical Laws may be made and established in this Realm by thirty-two persons, or so many as shall please the King's Majesty to name or appoint, according to the effect of a late Statute made in the 35th year of the most noble King, and of the most famous memory, King Henry VIII., so that all judges ecclesiastical, proceeding after those laws, may be without danger and peril.

"Also, that according to the ancient customs of this realm, and the tenor of the King's writs for the summoning of the Parliament, which be now, and ever have been, directed to the Bishops of every diocese, the Clergy of the Lower House of Convocation may be adjoined and associated with the Lower House of Parliament; or else that all such statutes and ordinances as shall be made concerning all matters of religion and causes ecclesiastical, may not pass without the sight and assent of the said clergy.

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[1] Gasquet and Bishop's *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer*, pp. 43, 44 *note*.

"Also that whereas, by the commandment of King Henry VIII., certain prelates and other learned men were appointed to alter the service in the Church, and to devise other convenient and uniform order therein, who according to the same appointment, did make certain books, as they be informed; their request is that the said books may be seen and perused by them, for a better expedition of divine service to be set forth accordingly.

"Also, that men being called to spiritual promotions or benefices may have some allowance for their necessary living and other charges, to be sustained and borne, concerning the said benefices, in the first year wherein they pay the first-fruits."[1]

The first of these demands refers to an Act of the 35th year of Henry VIII., but a commission of thirty-two persons to revise the Canon Law had been promised ten years earlier (1534) by an Act of the 25th year, chapter 19. This was the Act which gave effect to the submission of the clergy, who agreed not to enact new canons without the King's consent, and also to submit their existing canons to thirty-two persons, one-half laymen of the two Houses of Parliament, and one-half clergymen, all to be elected by the King, to consider how much of the clerical legislation should be abrogated, and how much retained as valid. Till this commission was constituted, the clergy really did not know how to act to avoid the danger of the King's laws; yet, though a new Act was passed on the subject in 1536 (27 Hen. VIII. c. 49), and this third Act again in 1544 (35 Hen. VIII. c. 16), the commission of thirty-two had not been issued all King Henry's days, and the position of the clergy remained still insecure.

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[1] Wilkins, iv. 15, 16.

The second demand is remarkably interesting from a constitutional point of view. The inferior clergy had, in the days of Edward I., been indirectly summoned to Parliament under the writs addressed to their superiors, which required these not only to attend personally in the House of Lords, but to warn cathedral chapters and archdeacons to cause one proctor to appear for each chapter in the House of Commons, and two for the clergy of every diocese. But the attendance of the clergy in the House of Commons, though always required by the writs, ceased after a time to be given in fact, as they were allowed to tax themselves for the King in their own Convocations. Now, however, by the establishment of royal supremacy there was a change of times. Parliament was invading the province of the spiritual legislature, and the Lower House of Convocation not unreasonably asked that if the clergy were not readmitted to the House of Commons, there should at least be no Acts passed touching religion or the Church without their knowledge and approval.

The third demand requires a little explanation. When Parliament met in April 1540, Cromwell, who was still in favour, though his career came soon after to an end, announced to it that the King had chosen certain bishops and divines to promote religious concord. He had divided this committee into two sets, one to treat of doctrine, the other of ceremonies. The Act of Parliament which followed (32 Hen. VIII. c. 26) clearly intended these to be standing committees to advise the King and enable him to define principles in both matters by letters patent. The Committee of Doctrine then appointed consisted of twenty members, with the two archbishops at their head; the Committee of Ceremonies of six bishops only, Clerk of Bath, Goodrich of Ely, Capon of Salisbury, Sampson of Chichester, Bell of Worcester, and Holgate of Llandaff.[1] Of course, doctrine was the most important thing, especially as the three years for which "The Institution of a Christian Man" had been licensed were then just expiring, so that the decisions of divines were needed to prevent people reviling each other as "papists" and heretics as they continually did. But the final result seems to have been that three years later the *Institution* appeared in a revised form as the *Necessary Doctrine*, which held its place all Henry's days, while the "Book of Ceremonies" drawn up by the other committee remained unpublished,[2] and there appeared to be no definite directions in matters ceremonial. It was this want that Convocation now wished to see supplied.

The fourth demand requires no particular comment.

These demands were formulated at the second session of the Convocation, viz. 22nd November, and solicitors were appointed on the 9th December to urge them, but nothing came of them.

Cranmer was not on the Committee of Ceremonies, and their recommendations were evidently far too conservative for him. Nor did he, it may be suspected, feel very great sympathy with the other demands. All the efforts made in this Convocation to recover the lost liberties of the clergy seem to have proceeded from the Lower House, and to have been utterly fruitless. But Cranmer having, as President, at the opening of the Synod urged in the Upper House a reform of the Church which should eradicate any remaining papal abuses, the divines were terrified at the suggestion. The Act of the Six Articles, besides other statutes, stood in the way, and the Primate had first to obtain the King's licence to discuss such matters freely.[1] Then Parliament came to the help of the spiritual assembly, and for its very first work, repealed not only that Act, but all the penal statutes against heresy from the days of Richard II. It also repealed some special Acts of the late reign in which new treasons and felonies had been constituted, and poisoners had been punished with a particularly horrible death. Humanity was, no doubt, the gainer by such legislation, but whether the rights of conscience benefited to the same extent is not so clear. For the object of repealing the heresy laws was only to set forth a new religion under royal supremacy, and denial of royal supremacy was still to be treason under a new statute—at least on a third offence.

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[1] *Lords' Journals*, i. 129.

[2] It has been published quite recently by the Alcuin Club under the title, *The Rationale of Ceremonial, 1540-1543*, edited by Mr. Cyril S. Cobb.

Legislation.

Humanity, indeed, was not a gainer by all the legislation at this time. On the 30th November a bill for the punishment of vagabonds was read a first time in the House of Lords, and was referred, with two others for the same object, to two judges and two serjeants-at-law. On the 6th December the punishment of vagabonds and the relief of the poor and impotent were treated together, and the bill passed its second and third readings on the 7th and 8th. It then went down to the Commons, where it finally passed on the 19th. It appears on the Statute Book as an Act alike for the punishment of vagabonds and for relief of the poor. But the punitive part is certainly most merciless, enforcing slavery and chains on runaways. Its severity, apparently, made it unworkable, and it was repealed two years later.

Many other measures seem to have been presented to Parliament, both about religion and about the Church, besides those actually passed; and the exact

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[1] This we learn from Parker in his book, *de Antiquitate Britannicae Ecclesiae* (ed. 1605), p. 339.

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history of those which became law cannot be traced with perfect certainty from the meagre notices in the *Journals* of the House of Lords. As early as the 12th November a bill "for the Sacrament of the Altar" was read in that House for the first time, and it obtained a second reading on the 15th. Moreover, on the 17th it was again read twice; but whether this particular bill went further is not clear. On the 26th a bill for receiving the Sacrament under both kinds was read a first time. This was singular, for the proposal was not laid before Convocation till four days later. Then on the 3rd December a bill was introduced "for the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ," which was committed to the Judges, Marvin and Portman. On the 7th it seems to have been read a second time, and on the 10th it passed, notwithstanding the opposition of Bishops Bonner of London, Thirlby of Norwich, Skyp of Hereford, Heath of Worcester, and Day of Chichester. It then went down into the Commons, where it received four successive readings and passed on the 17th. How to interpret all these facts precisely we do not know; but the definite issue was an Act of Parliament (1 Edw. VI. cap. 1) punishing revilers of the Sacrament and ordering that it should be hereafter administered in both kinds. And the reasons by which the former part of the Act was justified may undoubtedly be pondered with some profit historically. For in the preamble, among other things, we read as follows:—

Act touching the Sacrament.

"The said Sacrament . . . has been of late marvellously abused by such manner of men before rehearsed, who of wickedness, or else of ignorance and want of learning, for certain abuses heretofore committed of some in misusing thereof, having condemned in their hearts and speech the whole thing, and contemptuously depraved, despised, or reviled the same most holy and blessed Sacrament, and not only disputed and reasoned unreverently and ungodly of that most high mystery, but also, in their sermons, preachings, readings, lectures, communications, arguments, talks, rhymes, songs, plays or jests, name or call it by such vile and unseemly words as Christian ears do abhor to hear rehearsed."

Irreverence in pulpits with ribaldry in the streets, rhymes, songs, plays, and jests directed against the highest act of religion,—these things were confessedly rife. We know some of the vile words used—a favourite nickname for the Host was "Jack-in-the-box."[1] That an Act of Parliament should be passed to punish such offences by fine and imprisonment seemed not unnatural. But it has been surmised with great appearance of probability that the statute actually passed was the result of a compromise, one party being anxious to put down irreverence and the other eager for communion in both kinds.[2] And it is certainly curious that the first part of the Act—that against reviling the Sacrament—was only to come into operation some months after it was passed. For the words are "that whatsoever person or persons, from and after the first day of May next coming, shall deprave, despise, or contemn the said most blessed Sacrament," etc., as if the Legislature intended to give a positive licence for such conduct to all and sundry for nearly half a year!

In the Lords some manœuvring seems to have been used to pass this bill; for on the 10th December, when it was despatched, there were no less than eleven bishops of the old school (including Gardiner, who was in prison) absent without proxies, so that the five whose dissent to it is recorded by no means represented the strength of the feeling against it entertained by the Bench.[3] On the other hand, the fact that there was a serious conflict over the bill in Parliament not only accounts for its having been read four times in the Commons before it passed, but comes out clearly in a letter written a year and a half later by Richard Hilles to Bullinger at Zurich, in which he says of Bartholomew Traheron: "He endeavoured as far as he could (for he was one of the burgesses in the last Parliament) that there should be no ambiguity in the reformation of the Lord's Supper; but it was not in his power to bring over his old fellow citizens to his views. Therefore . . . we have an uniform celebration of the Eucharist throughout the whole kingdom, but after the manner of the Nuremberg churches and some of those in Saxony; for they do not yet feel inclined to adopt your rites respecting the administration of the Sacraments."[1] The ritual was not brought down to the level of Swiss Reformers as their admirers in England fain would have had it. Possibly Traheron would have done the Government some service if he had been allowed, not only as to the bill itself, but as to a proviso they had intended to add to it. For after the bill had been passed by the Lords and was down in the Commons, a proviso was sent thither on the 17th December to be annexed to it; "the which the Commons would not receive because the Lords had not given their consent to the same." There was to be no further manipulating of that bill. But after Parliament was prorogued it could be subjected, as we shall see, to a little explanation.

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[1] *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 55.

[2] Gasquet and Bishop, pp. 69-71.

[3] *Ib.* p. 71.

Legislation about bishops and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction.

Among other religious subjects which engaged the Lords' attention there was in November a bill "for the admission of bishops by the King's Majesty only." This was introduced on the 13th and committed to Cranmer. It was read a second time on the 16th, when it was committed to Bishops Tunstall and Thirlby, the Chief Baron, and the King's Attorney. It had a third reading on the 28th. Then a bill "for election of bishops" was brought forward on the 3rd

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[1] *Original Letters* (Parker Soc.), p. 266.

December and read a second time on the 5th. In November also there had been a bill "for the reading of Scripture," another "for the exercising of the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction" (a subject of which more was heard later), another "for benefices with cure, common preachers and residence," another "for the erection of a new Court of Chancery for Ecclesiastical Causes." Not all these projects took effect. A law did pass for making bishops by letters patent without a *congé d'élire*[1]—to the further degradation doubtless of the episcopal dignity. But we are not concerned here with much of the actual legislation, of which only two or three points deserve particularly to be noted.

Other legislation.

First the Protector and his friends easily procured the repeal of the Act 28 Henry VIII. cap. 17, which would have enabled the King, when he attained the age of twenty-four, to annul all Acts of Parliament passed in his minority simply by letters patent. For a Government such as that which now existed, this was simply necessary for the security of those who belonged to it. Nevertheless it had a bad effect on the minds of many who disliked revolutionary tendencies, alike in religion and affairs of State, and saw that those who now held sway were removing every security for the permanence of such a settlement as Henry VIII.'s wisdom had laid down. And for this very reason, as we shall find hereafter, the Council were particularly anxious, even after they had got their Act, that preachers of the old school, like Bonner and Gardiner, should, when they preached in public, expressly set forth that the King's authority, even in his juvenile years, was quite as great as if he had attained to mature age.

Further, a long and wordy statute, passed after great opposition in both Houses, completed the confiscation of all endowments hitherto given to chantries, brotherhoods, and colleges for the maintenance of priests to pray for the souls of their founders. These foundations had already been dissolved by an Act of the last Parliament of Henry VIII.; but that Act had only taken partial effect, and a more thorough measure was required for the relief of an embarrassed treasury. The pretence, indeed, was to divert funds from superstitious uses and apply them to the erection of grammar schools, augmentation of the universities, and relief of the poor. But the *Acts of the Privy Council* speak without disguise as to the real object. For on the 17th April 1548, four months after this Act was passed, commissions were issued under it for the sale of Chantry lands, the minutes of Council declaring that they were granted "specially for the relief of the King's Majesty's charges and expenses, which do daily grow and increase by reason of divers and sundry fortifications, garrisons, levying of men and soldiers," etc. And it is further stated that "the King's most loving subjects were induced the rather and franklier to grant those said colleges and free chapels, chantries and other things . . . that they might thereby be relieved of the continual charge of taxes, contributions, loans, and subsidies."[1]

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[1] Stat. 1 Edw. VI. c. 2.

This is extremely candid as explaining the influences which carried the Act through Parliament. But the motive expressed in the preamble to the Act itself was "considering that a great part of superstition and errors in Christian religion has been brought into the minds and estimations of men by reason of the ignorance of their very true and perfect salvation through the death of Jesus Christ, and by devising and phantasing vain opinions of purgatory and masses satisfactory to be done for them which be departed," etc. Thus Parliament, inspired by such motives as the Council so frankly declared afterwards, invoked theology in aid of the Act of Confiscation.

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[1] Dasent, ii. 184-5.

And it was a theology in advance even of that of the Church at this time; for "masses satisfactory," as we have seen,[1] had been arranged for by Henry VIII. in his will not a twelvemonth before, and the Church had said nothing yet against them. The bill, indeed, was so objectionable that it was not only opposed in the Commons on secular grounds as affecting some local interests in matters of public importance, but it was also opposed in the House of Lords by most of the bishops, and even by Cranmer, who was anxious to preserve Chantry lands for better uses when the King in his more mature age should be able to consider some scheme for the relief of impoverished livings and other good objects. In the end, however, the bill passed both Houses, its many and complicated provisions being evidently required to meet numerous practical objections. But the good intentions about grammar schools and other matters had to wait.[2]

Convocation and marriage of the clergy.

On the 17th December a resolution had been passed in Convocation that all laws and canons against the marriage of the clergy should be declared void. The historian passes by at times with little comment facts of very high significance, especially where it is supposed that the reader can draw the true moral for himself. "A decidedly good reform," says the modern Protestant with entire conviction, and I am not going to deny that he is right. But the mere suggestion, at this time, was revolutionary, and the higher clergy for the most part voted for it most unwillingly, under pressure from the Government—that is to say, of Somerset, influenced by Cranmer. Such is the positive statement of one whose opinion in this matter should be weighty—that, namely, of John Rogers, the first of the Marian martyrs.[3] And it is to be feared that contemporaries did not look upon it so much in the light of a reform as of a kind of legitimising of women hitherto in an ambiguous position. Indeed, the prejudice against them remained long after. Queen Elizabeth's objection to a married clergy is well known; and it must be said that there were clerical and even episcopal wives in her time whose characters were painfully notorious.

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[1] See pp. 8, 9.

[2] Statute 1 Edw. VI. c. 14. See Leach's *English Schools at the Reformation.*

[3] "Even so, in King Edward's days, did the most part of the learned of

Now Convocation having come to this resolution, a bill was carried through the House of Commons "that lay and married men may be priests and have benefices." But it only reached the House of Lords on the 20th December, when it was too late to be made a statute that year; for Parliament was prorogued on Christmas Eve, and it was more than a twelvemonth before the Act could pass.

But just after the prorogation there was published (27th December) a proclamation, in which the hand of Cranmer can be pretty clearly discerned, explaining the Act about the Sacrament in a way in which it was not explained in the statute itself. The King, it was said, had made a good and godly Act against contemners of the Sacrament; yet some of his subjects, as he was informed, "not contented with such words and terms as Scripture doth declare thereof, nor with that doctrine which the Holy Ghost by the Evangelists of St. Paul had taught us," still raised "contentions and superfluous questions" about it, entering rashly into high mysteries in their sermons

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the Clergy (against their wills, as it doth now appear) set their hands to the marriage of priests (as deans and archdeacons, doctors and masters of colleges, to the number of seventy or thereabouts, and the most part of the Bishops), to the alteration of the service into English, and to the taking away of the positive laws which before had prohibited the said marriage. This, I say, they did for the Duke of Somerset's and others of the King's executors' pleasure."—Chester's *John Rogers*, p. 320. Colonel Chester remarks on the above passage that it contains "an important historical fact entirely omitted by Foxe, and, it is believed, to be found originally nowhere else." Strype, indeed, has an allusion to it (*Eccl. Mem.* II. pt. i. 209), which altogether puzzled inquirers till Colonel Chester unearthed and published for the first time, in 1861, Rogers's "intended speech to the lord Chancellor."

Vulgar questions about the Sacrament.

and conversation with irreverent inquiries whether the body and blood of Christ was there, "really or figuratively, locally or circumscriptly, and having quantity and greatness, or but substantially and by substance only, or else but in a figure and manner of speaking; whether His blessed body be there, head, legs, arms, toes and nails, or any other ways, shape or manner, naked or clothed; whether He is broken or chewed, or He is always whole; whether the bread there remaineth as we see, or how it departeth; whether the flesh be there alone, and the blood, or part, or each in other, or in the one both, in the other but only blood. And what blood? That only which did flow out of the side, or that which remained? With other such irreverent, superfluous and curious questions," aiming at things "to which our human imbecility cannot attain." The King, therefore, by advice of the Protector and Council, commanded that no one should henceforth openly argue on such questions "affirming any more terms of the said blessed Sacrament than be expressly taught in the Holy Scripture and mentioned in the foresaid Act, nor deny none that be therein contained and mentioned until such time as the King's Majesty, by the advice of his Highness' Council and the Clergy of this realm, shall define, declare, and set forth an open doctrine thereof, and what terms and words may justly be spoken thereby, other than be expressly in the Scripture contained in the Act before rehearsed." Meanwhile good subjects were to "devoutly and reverently affirm and take that holy bread to be Christ's body and that cup to be the cup of His holy blood, according to the purport and effect of the Holy Scripture contained in the Act before expressed." Yet the King did not wish to discourage those ignorant and willing to learn from inquiring further on the subject from those whom he considered qualified to teach. But contentious debaters, who called the Sacrament an idol, or by any such vile name, would incur the King's indignation and suffer imprisonment.[1]

Removal of images at St. Paul's.

The Royal Visitation itself was a pretty effective means of bringing on a religious revolution. On the night of the 16th November, as a contemporary chronicler[2] tells us, the King's Visitors began "to take down the rood with all the images in Paul's church, which were clean taken away, and by negligence of the laborers certain persons were hurt and one slain in the falling down of the great Cross in the rood loft, which the popish priests said was the will of God for the pulling down of the said idols. Likewise, all images in every parish church in London were pulled down and broken by commandment of the said Visitors." The walls of the churches were whitewashed, and biblical texts in English substituted for the images.[3]

On the 27th of the same month, the first Sunday of Advent, Bishop Barlow preached at St. Paul's and gave further effect to the crusade against "idolatry" by exhibiting "a picture (image) of the Resurrection of our Lord made with vices which put out his legs of sepulchre and blessed with his hand, and turned his head, and there stood afore the pulpit the image of our Lady, which they of St. Paul's had lapped in cerecloth, which was laid in a corner of Paul's church and found by the Visitors in their Visitation." The clergy had been hiding things that they had once shown openly; but they were to learn to obey a new order now. Bishop Barlow in his sermon denounced strongly "the great abomination of idolatry," and "after the sermon the boys broke the idols in pieces."[4]

Two days later (29th November) we have a minute of Council as follows:—

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[1] Wilkins, iv. 18, 19.

[2] Wriothesley's *Chronicle*, ii. 1; so also *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 55.

[3] *Négociations de M. de Selve*, p. 241.

[4] Wriothesley's *Chronicle*, ii. 1.

"John Bisse of Wycombe have (*sic*) spoken and done inconveniently against the taking down of images abused in the church of Wycombe, and therefore having been committed a certain time to the Fleet, was delivered and enjoined to make open and solemn declaration at Wycombe of his fault."[1]

We hear nothing more about "erecting" again images found not to have been "abused." Changes began to be made with considerable facility. On the 27th January 1548 Cranmer intimated to Bishop Bonner that "my lord Protector's Grace, with advice of the King's Majesty's Council, for certain considerations them thereunto moving," had resolved that no candles should be borne on Candlemas Day, nor ashes nor palms used henceforth any longer. And this he was to cause to be notified in all parish churches, and to other bishops that they might do the like; so that the change might be complete by Ash Wednesday.[2] On the 6th February, however, came out a proclamation against any person omitting, changing or innovating any rites or ceremonies in the Church by his own authority. On the 21st, a mandate to the bishops was issued from Somerset Place for the complete removal from churches of all images whatever. The reason given for this order is that though the injunction to take down images that had been "abused with pilgrimages, offerings, or censings" had been quietly obeyed in many parts, yet elsewhere it had led to much discussion whether images had been "abused" or not. Some images which had been "manifestly abused" had been set up again after being taken down; and there was "no sure quietness" without their complete removal. Such was the justification put forward; and Cranmer, of course, very readily obeyed the mandate and sent orders to his suffragans for its enforcement.[1]

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[1] Dasent, ii. 147.

[2] Cardwell's *Documentary Annals*, i. 45. This document, No. VIII. of Cardwell's Series, is really ten days earlier in date than No. VII., the proclamation against making innovations by private authority.

"Order of Communion."

Next came out, on the 8th March, an "Order of Communion" prefaced by a royal proclamation to give it validity. This was natural, as communion in both kinds had been agreed to both by Convocation and Parliament; and it was, of course, right to have the form authorised and ready for use before Easter Sunday, which was the 1st April. The new ritual was contained in a pamphlet of ten leaves; and it really was hardly so much a change as an addition to the existing service. The Latin mass was to go on as before, without any variation except that when the laity were to communicate, the celebrant was not to drink up all the wine he consecrated, and the "Order" was simply an English form for administering to them after the priest's mass. It contained, however, some prefatory exhortations and a general confession to be used by the congregation to obviate the necessity of private confession and shrift for those who preferred to do without them. It was a service on the model of one laid down in a notable book lately translated into English—the *Consultation* of Hermann von Wied, Archbishop of Cologne.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I

STATUTE 28 HEN. VIII. CAP. 17

Forasmuch as laws and statutes may happen hereafter to be made within this realm at Parliaments holden at such time as the Kings of the same happen to be within age, having small knowledge and experience of their affairs, to the great hindrance and derogation of the Imperial Crown of this Realm, and to the universal damage of the Commonwealth of the subjects of the same: Be it therefore enacted by authority of this present Parliament that if the Imperial Crown of this Realm after the decease of the King's most Royal Majesty, whose life our lord long preserve, descend, come, or remain, to the heirs of our said Sovereign Lord or to any person to be limited by his Highness, as of very right it must and ought to do according to the laws of this Realm established for the same, the said heirs or such person, being within the age of xxiiij years, and that then any Act or Acts of Parliament shall happen to be made and established in any Parliament that then shall be holden before such heir or heirs, person or persons then being in possession of the said Crown shall be of their full ages of xxiiij years, that then every such heir or heirs of our said Sovereign Lord, or such persons so possessed of the Crown, and being within the same age of xxiiij years, shall have full power and authority at all times, after they shall come to their said full ages of xxiiij years by their letters patents under the Great Seal of England, to revoke, annul and repeal all and singular such Acts made and established by their royal assents, in any Parliament holden during the time that they were within their said age of xxiiij years; their royal assents had to the same during the time that they were within the said age of xxiiij years, or any Act or Acts hereafter to be made to the contrary notwithstanding.

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[1] Cardwell's *Doc. Ann.* No. IX.

And be it also enacted by authority aforesaid that every such appeal, adnullation and revocation of any Act or Acts that shall be made and established in any Parliament holden before the time that such heirs or person possessed of the Crown shall be of the said age of xxiiij years shall be as good and effectual to all intents and purposes as though it had been done by authority of Parliament.

CHAPTER II

THE PROGRESS OF INNOVATION

So far had religious alterations been effected in little more than a year after the accession of King Edward. But the complete removal of images did not by any means produce that "sure quietness" which was the pretext of the order. On the contrary, it was the principal cause of a revolt in Cornwall in April, in which was slain William Body, once a servant of the unscrupulous Thomas Cromwell, engaged on the work by the Council. And there is reason to suspect that the doings of the Government were by no means well taken generally. Restraints were placed upon preaching lest it should create disaffection throughout the country; but licensed preachers who had no dislike of innovation were allowed to transgress even royal proclamations in their zeal. Thomas Hancock, a native of Christchurch in Hampshire, preached there that the Host could not be God because God was invisible and to kneel to it was idolatry. Using the same argument at Salisbury, he was brought before the assizes and compelled to find sureties for his future obedience to the law. But he at once repaired to the Protector at Sion and procured an order for the discharge of his sureties; which having shown to the Chief Justice at Southampton, he was prepared to repeat the offence once more, but was persuaded by the Mayor to let another preach in his place. Little, however, was gained by this, for the

Revolt in Cornwall.

Thomas Hancock's preaching.

other preacher, whose name was Griffith, pursued the same line, and challenged the Chief Justice to his face for allowing images in the church, and the Host, which he called "the idol," to hang in the old fashion by a string over the altar.[1]

How beautifully Hancock could evade the force of royal proclamations was shown when the Mayor of Southampton charged him with contravening that which had been issued on the 27th December against giving nicknames to the Sacrament, such as calling it *Round Robin* or *Jack-in-the-box.* He answered simply that it was no sacrament but an idol as they used it—so he was not reviling the Sacrament. And probably a good many others found the same argument handy; for the nicknames continued to be used both by preachers and others in spite of the proclamation (though by Parliament they were still virtually licensed till the 1st May!), and the Sacrament of the Altar was put down in various places.[2] As for Hancock, he was called the same year to be minister at the town of Poole, in Dorsetshire, "which town," he wrote some years later, "was at the time wealthy, for they embraced God's word. They were in favor with the rulers and governors of the realm. They were the first that in that part of England were called Protestants. . . . But now" (he writes after the accession of Elizabeth), "I am sorry to set my pen to write it, they have become poor, they have no love to God's word; they lack the favor and friendship of the godly rulers and governors to defend them." It would be interesting to know whether it was not the opulence of the townsmen of Poole that made them "godly," and the decay of their prosperity that made them otherwise; but Hancock certainly seems to think that godliness was to them great gain. He was minister at Poole all the days of Edward VI.[3]

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[1] The story of Hancock is derived from his own account of himself in Nichols's *Narratives of the Reformation*, p. 72 *sq.*

[2] *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 55.

[3] Nichols's *Narratives*, pp. 77, 79.

Double-dealing of Government.

We understand honest zealots, and the reader should have no difficulty, by this time, in understanding a double-dealing Government. Heresy was supported underhand, as in the days of Henry VIII., and carried further than it suited him to carry it. That was the remarkable thing about the times, that while Henry, with all his defiance of the Pope, and his war against images, pilgrimages, and superstitions, still took his stand on high sacramental orthodoxy, and claimed to be a very defender, not a persecutor, of the faith of Christendom, the Government of his son, without waiting till he came to manhood, advanced with such temerity into further change. Innovations went on, some legal, or at least authoritative, and others quite illegal and ostensibly against authority, but secretly connived at by the ruling powers. That these things stirred up trouble within the kingdom was not wonderful. But even if the Government had misgivings at times (as it possibly may have had), a course of innovation in religion, once entered on, was not easily kept within bounds. If images were put down in some cases because they led to idolatry in the shape of pilgrimages and offerings, it was only a concession to fanatics who considered every image an idol. Then, if reverence to images was idolatry, reverence to the Host must be idolatry as well, at least in the eyes of the many who scouted and sneered at the doctrine of the Real Presence. Forbid ribald mockery of the Sacrament by proclamation,—it was to no purpose. The ribalds were the stoutest opponents of "the Bishop of Rome," and their help was useful to the Government. Yet it was to some of them a sacred duty to put down, even by mockery, what they considered superstition. In short, there was war in the land between two opposite religious tendencies, and the Government continually favoured the lower.

The Government, however, had found the value of an honest man; for Latimer was honest, however unduly swayed at times by men in power. After nine years of silence he had been set to preach at Paul's Cross on Sunday, the 1st of January, in this year 1548, and he continued preaching in public, and afterwards before the King in Lent. He was strong against "unpreaching prelates," and declared the Devil to be the most industrious preacher in England. But he was no less vehement against the widespread corruption and pecuniary dishonesty, the greed and inhumanity that had followed the great spoliation; and even he could not help contrasting times past with times present, to the disadvantage of the present. His preaching, however, gave moral support to the Government, which was seriously hindered in its work by official peculation.

Latimer.

There was an appearance also, just at that time, but only for a time, of more favourable treatment being meted out to Gardiner; for he was sent for out of the Fleet on the 8th January, and brought before the Protector and Council, who informed him that his offences were remitted by the General Pardon just passed in Parliament. They then, "having ministered to him a good lesson and admonition," ordered his discharge from imprisonment, and asked if he would conform himself now to the injunctions and homilies, "and such other doctrine as should be set forth from time to time by the King's Highness and Clergy of this realm, articles of part whereof, touching Justification, were then exhibited to him to declare in the same his opinion."[1] Such are the words of the official record of the Privy Council; and no doubt his imprisonment had even strengthened his loyal desire to be as submissive as possible. "He made answer that he would conform himself accordingly as other bishops did, and, touching the articles delivered to him, he desired respite of answer for four

Gardiner.

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[1] Dasent, ii. 157-8.

or five days, which was accorded to him." I do not propose to go into much detail about his case at present, as there is more to be said about it later. Briefly, the Council were not satisfied with his answer, and bade him keep to his own house, but afterwards allowed him to return to his diocese, where they were next informed that he had not complied with all that was expected of him. Finally, he was required to preach before the King to make his position clear; and he did so on the 29th June, St. Peter's Day, having taken much pains beforehand to avoid offence while doing justice to his own sacramental belief as that of the Church at large. He thought he had given satisfaction; but next day he was arrested and taken to the Tower, where he remained till the accession of Queen Mary. Nor was this imprisonment all the injustice done to him; but it was not the Protector Somerset who ultimately deprived him of his bishopric.

Cranmer does not satisfy zealots.

From this time, however, the foremost champion of the Old Learning among the bishops was unable to speak his mind; and the fact, no doubt, gave freer scope to the policy of innovation. As yet Cranmer's action had been comparatively moderate, too much so for zealous men of the New Learning, who looked for a reformation such as would please Swiss divines. "You must know," says Bartholomew Traheron, writing from London to Bullinger at Zurich, "that all our countrymen who are sincerely favorable to the restoration of truth entertain in all respects like opinions with you; and not only such as are placed at the summit of honor, but those who are ranked in the number of men of learning. I except the Archbishop of Canterbury and Latimer, and a very few learned men besides; for from among the nobility I know not one whose opinions are otherwise than they ought to be. As to Canterbury, he conducts himself in such a way, I know not how, as that people do not think much of him, and the nobility regard him as lukewarm. In other respects he is a kind and good-natured man. As to Latimer, though he does not clearly understand the true doctrine of the Eucharist, he is nevertheless more favorable than either Luther or even Bucer. I am quite sure that he will never be a hindrance to this cause. For being a man of admirable talent, he sees more clearly into the subject than the others, and is desirous to come into our sentiments, but is slow to decide, and cannot without much difficulty, and even timidity, renounce an opinion which he has once imbibed. But there is good hope that he will some time or other come over to our side altogether. For he is so far from avoiding any of our friends that he rather seeks their company, and most anxiously listens to them while discoursing upon this subject, as one who is beyond measure desirous that the whole truth may be laid open to him, and even that he may be thoroughly convinced."[1]

This was written on the 1st August 1548, and is most interesting for what it tells of the mental condition or outward profession at that date, both of Latimer and of Archbishop Cranmer. Years had passed away since Cranmer, in acknowledging a presentation copy sent to him by the Swiss scholar Joachim Vadianus of his *Aphorisms*, written against the Corporeal Presence in the Eucharist, was obliged to tell him that he entirely disapproved of the contents.[2] And through the whole of the late reign he was supposed to uphold, as might have been expected, a doctrine so strongly enforced by the Act of the Six Articles. Nor had he ever yet admitted that he had changed his mind, but was ranked in this matter among the supporters of the old theology.

A judgment much like Traheron's was passed upon him about the same time by a young Swiss in London who was about to go to Oxford to study; and his words also throw a curious light on the deference paid to the Zurich divine by the most exalted dignitary of the Church of England. In a postscript to a letter of the 18th August John ab Ulmis writes to Bullinger:—

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[1] *Original Letters* (Parker Soc.), p. 320.

[2] *Ib.* p. 13.

> After I had written this very short letter, lo! your letter was delivered to the Archbishop of Canterbury, which I fully understand from Master Peter Martyr that you had written to him with the greatest courtesy and respect. The first part, if I remember right, *was a grave and learned admonition as to his episcopal duties*; the remainder was a subtle transition to the Eucharist. But to tell you all in a few words, although your letter (for it was constantly being copied) afforded pleasure to everyone, and to the bishop himself a full and gratifying exhortation to his duty; yet I would have you know this for certain that this Thomas has fallen into so heavy a slumber that we entertain but a very cold hope that he will be aroused even by your most learned letter. For he has lately published a Catechism, in which he has not only approved that foul and sacrilegious transubstantiation of the papists in the Holy Supper of our Saviour, but all the dreams of Luther seem to him sufficiently well grounded, perspicuous and lucid.[1]

So also writes an Englishman at Strassburg who had good information about this Catechism and about its effects when published. Writing from thence to Bullinger on the 29th October, John Burcher says:—

> The condition of our England is such as I can neither much commend nor find fault with. A more sincere and pure feeling of religion has begun to flourish with success; but Satan, through his hatred of this, has been endeavouring to throw everything into confusion by means of dissension. The Archbishop of Canterbury, moved, no doubt, by the advice of Peter Martyr and other Lutherans, has ordered a Catechism of some Lutheran opinions to be translated and

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[1] *Original Letters* (Parker Soc.), pp. 380-81.

published in our language. This little book has occasioned no little discord; so that fightings have frequently taken place among the common people, on account of their diversity of opinion, even during the sermons. The Government, roused by this contention, have convoked a Synod of the Bishops to consult about religion.[1]

Surely it was time to do something when churches were constantly desecrated by fighting during sermon time! For what John Burcher says on this point is amply confirmed from other quarters. And it was also time, in matters of doctrine and ritual, that the Primate of England should make up his mind how much was to be tolerated and how much to be put down. But was there any authority to guide the Primate? He appears to have been seeking guidance himself as to what was safe and true. For he had for a long time been corresponding with foreign reformers, and had already, in past years, invited several of them to England—among others, Peter Alexander of Arles, who had been chaplain to Mary of Hungary in the Netherlands; the Italian Vermigli, better known by his first two names Peter Martyr; and his countryman Bernardin Ochino, once a Capuchin friar. Peter Martyr was made Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, and Ochino was provided with a prebend in Canterbury Cathedral. More warmly and more repeatedly had the Archbishop invited Melancthon to England, as appears by letters which he wrote in July this year to John à Lasco the Pole and to his friend Albert Hardenberg, to whom he extended a like invitation.[2] The object of his asking them to England he himself explains in these words:—

He invites foreign divines to England.

We are desirous of setting forth in our churches the true doctrine of God, and have no wish to be shifting and unstable, or to deal in ambiguities; but laying aside all carnal considerations, to transmit to posterity a true and explicit form of doctrine, agreeable to the rule of the Sacred Writings; so that there may not only be set forth among all nations an illustrious testimony respecting our doctrine, delivered by the grave authority of learned and godly men, but that all posterity may have a pattern to imitate. For the purpose of carrying this important design into execution we have thought it necessary to have the assistance of learned men, who, having compared their opinions together with us, may do away with doctrinal controversies, and build up an entire system of true doctrine.

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[1] *Ib.* pp. 642-3.

[2] Cranmer's *Remains* (Parker Soc.), pp. 420-23, 425. À Lasco actually was in England in October following (*Orig. Letters*, p. 644).

Cranmer, it is evident, believed that by such consultations with learned foreigners in England, it would be possible to set forth a scheme of theology no less weighty than that of the Council of Trent, and that its claims would be acknowledged by posterity. Nor was he, perhaps, so much mistaken as the friends of Rome would have us believe. For while undoubtedly it is impossible to justify the tyrannical methods used to silence the advocates of the old religion, the fact remains that the first and second English Prayer Books issued in this reign—especially the latter—constitute what has ever since been, with but little modification, the recognised exponent of the religion of Englishmen at large.[1]

The *Interim* in Germany (of which more hereafter) contributed not a little to promote Cranmer's design. His sympathy with German Protestantism became naturally warmer still than it had been; and on the 2nd October he sent an invitation to Bucer, who next year came over with the eminent Hebrew scholar Fagius. The Spaniard Dryander, too, came over from Germany even this year, and was rewarded with a Greek professorship at Cambridge;[1] and many others from various countries, Germans, Swiss, and Dutch, followed later on and shared the hospitality of Lambeth.

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[1] Cranmer no doubt was mistaken if he ever dreamed that a Council sitting in England would have been recognised as ecumenical. But he certainly could not have persuaded himself that in his day the idea had advanced far towards realisation.

His mental history.

The mental history of Archbishop Cranmer seems never yet to have been accurately delineated. And there are really some difficulties in tracing it precisely. At one time, presumably, he believed in Transubstantiation as others did; indeed, he said so himself at his examination in 1556.[2] But for a long time he was, no doubt, supposed to believe in it after he had really lost that belief. In the summer of 1538 a complaint was received from Calais of one Adam Damplip, a preacher licensed by the Archbishop's commissary there, who, preaching at the White Friars, was said to have "denied the Holy Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood."[3] The matter naturally came before the Archbishop himself, who, in a letter to Cromwell about it in August, protected the licensee of his commissary. "As concerning Adam Damplip of Calais," he writes, "he utterly denieth that ever he taught or said that the very Body and Blood of Christ was not presently in the Sacrament of the Altar, and confesseth the same to be there really. But he saith that the controversy between him and the Prior was because he confuted the opinion of the Transubstantiation; and therein I think he taught but the truth." So at this time, at least, Cranmer had ceased to hold that doctrine. But he still held by the Real Corporeal Presence, which he maintained strongly not many years later in opposition to Vadianus,[4] and could thereby shield himself sufficiently against any imputation of being what was called a "Sacramentarian." His intercourse with Lutherans abroad had probably led him to a view not unlike that of Luther himself, though he afterwards said that he had never held more than two "contrary doctrines" on this subject.[1] And though the King must have been aware of the sentiments which he avowed to Cromwell, he compelled him, just three months later, to take his part as Archbishop in the prosecution of the unhappy Lambert; in which he, at least plausibly, did all that could be expected of an orthodox primate in the way of argument to change the mind of the accused. But perhaps this may have been a matter of arrangement. If Lambert, like Cranmer himself, had only questioned Transubstantiation, the Archbishop would have had a most unenviable task; but he not only questioned, he plainly denied even the Corporeal Presence which Cranmer at this time upheld. And the prosecution was so managed that Cranmer, we may believe, was able to do his part without arguing against his own principles, either professed or real.[2]

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[1] *Original Letters* (Parker Soc.), pp. 19, 348, 652.

[2] Foxe, viii. 55.

[3] *L. P.*, XIII. i. 1219, 1386-88.

[4] *L. P.*, XV. 137.

Now if Cranmer, even early in his career as Archbishop, really doubted or disbelieved in Transubstantiation, a good many things become more intelligible. We are told, for instance, that as early as 1533 "a gentleman" of the Archbishop sent to fetch Frith out of the Tower to be examined by the Primate himself at Croydon, told the prisoner that he might escape through the woods near Brixton Causeway and so get on to Kent among his friends, while those responsible for his custody would pretend to be looking for him about Wandsworth. The Archbishop's "gentleman," no doubt, knew very well that his master did not like the business of examining such a prisoner.[1]

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[1] Foxe, *ubi supra*.

[2] Note the account of the trial in Foxe, v. 230 *sq*. The King began proceedings by calling upon Lambert to say without evasion whether the Sacrament was the Body of Christ, and he denied it. The Archbishop was then called to refute Lambert's argument that the Body of Christ could not be in two places at once. According to Foxe he got rather "entangled" with the arguments he was called on to confute, and Gardiner, with what Foxe calls "hasty impudence," rushed in before his set time to speak, with further texts of Scripture in support of the Archbishop's contention, while the other bishops present had each their allotted share in the discussion.

Then we may take it as due to Cranmer that not a word was said about Transubstantiation, either in the Articles of 1536 or in *The Institution of a Christian Man.* In both these formulas the doctrine of "the Sacrament of the Altar" is expressed in the very same words, viz.: "that under the form and figure of bread and wine which we there presently do see and perceive by outward senses, is verily, substantially and really contained and comprehended the very self-same body and blood of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the Cross for our redemption; And that under the same form and figure of bread and wine the very self-same body and blood of Christ is corporally, really, and in the very substance, exhibited, distributed, and received of all them which receive the said Sacrament." This was certainly orthodox enough according to Catholic standards; but it was a form of orthodoxy that suited Luther as well as Rome, and which seems to have been drawn up artfully to allow a safe place for Consubstantiation if any one preferred that theory to Transubstantiation. But then came the Act of the Six Articles in 1539, followed by the Book of *Necessary Doctrine* in 1543, neither of which allowed any such subterfuge. To deny Transubstantiation was death under the Six Articles; and in the Book of 1543 the doctrine was very expressly laid down by the King's authority. How the Primate of All England could have retained his own Lutheran theology after those dates may very well seem astonishing. In point of fact he apparently did not, but this does not make his position less extraordinary; for, from what we hear, he does not seem to have kept up even to the Lutheran standard. But he preserved a freedom of judgment for himself which was certainly not a little remarkable. The Six Articles, as we know, had been carried in spite of his opposition in Parliament by the King's personal intervention. The *Necessary Doctrine* was "the King's Book," but Cranmer declared at a later date that it never had expressed his own views. That it did not would also appear manifest by what was stated in that very year; for it was one of the things elicited by the complaints of his prebendaries that he had shocked them by reading a lecture on the Sacrament of the Altar, "saying it was but a similitude."[1]

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[1] Foxe, *Acts and Mon.*, viii. 695-9 (App.). The reader should also note what is said at pp. 695-6 about Frith's imprisonment in the Tower. A sermon preached before the King in Lent 1533 was, it is said, devised to "put the King in remembrance that the said Frith was in the Tower, *there staid rather for his safeguard than for his punishment* by such as favored him." This, it will be seen, is quite in accordance with what I have said myself in Vol. I. p. 415, though the passage was not before me when I wrote.

His reticence under Henry VIII.

Such an utterance after the passing of the Act of the Six Articles would not have been safe for any one except the Primate, and in the beginning of that year, 1543, men had been encouraged to complain of heresy, even in the highest quarters. Later in the year tongues seem to have been tolerably free. But after that date Cranmer appears to have kept very quiet upon the subject till nearly two years after Henry VIII.'s death. His name is no way connected with the tragedy of poor Anne Askew, and if he wished to save her he was not allowed to do so. Under Edward VI., when the Act of the Six Articles was repealed, he was for some time still held to be a Lutheran, and disappointed the expectation of the more ardent Reformers in England by his reticence on this great subject. But he was moving cautiously and preparing to avow a change of opinion which, as we learn from himself, was the result of conferences with his chaplain Ridley, the future Bishop.[2] At a time which, as it has been shown with almost definite certitude, must lie between the narrow limits of the end of December 1547 and the beginning of February 1548,[1] he submitted three sets of questions concerning the Mass to the bishops of both provinces (or the greater number of them), and to at least two divines besides, whose answers enabled him to see the amount of sympathy that he might expect in the policy which he had now in view, of changing the Mass into a Communion Service. Reception by the laity in both kinds had already been authorised, and "the Order of Communion" came out on the 8th March 1548. Sometime in the course of that year he published what is often called his "Catechism"—really a translation from the Latin of a Lutheran treatise, originally composed in German and for some years in use at Nuremberg, when it was turned into Latin by Justus Jonas. It was not in the ordinary form of a catechism—questions and answers—but simply a book of elementary instruction; and the Eucharistic doctrine it set forth was entirely Lutheran. This again was a great disappointment to forward minds, and no one who reads the book will wonder that it was so.[2]

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[1] See Vol. II. p. 374.

[2] Foxe, viii. 57.

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[1] Gasquet and Bishop's *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 84. The questions may be seen in Cranmer's *Remains* (Parker Soc.), pp. 150-53.

[2] It insists that we ought to believe by Christ's own words that "we receive truly the body and blood of Christ. For God is Almighty, as ye heard in the Creed. He is able, therefore, to do all things what He will. And, as St. Paul writeth, He calleth those things which be not, as if they were. Wherefore, when Christ taketh bread and sayeth, 'Take, eat, this is my body,' we ought not to doubt but we eat his very body. And when he taketh the cup and sayeth, 'Take, drink, this is my blood,' we ought to think assuredly that we drink his very blood. And this we must believe if we will be counted Christian men. And whereas in this perilous time, certain deceitful persons be found in many places, who of very frowardness will not grant that there is the body and blood of Christ, but deny the same for none other cause but that they cannot compass by man's blind reason how this thing should be brought to pass, ye, good children, shall with all diligence beware of such persons that ye suffer not yourselves to be deceived by them. For such men, surely, are not true Christians." *A Short Instruction into Christian Religion*, being a Catechism set forth by Archbishop Cranmer in 1548 (Oxford, 1829), p. 208.

No doubt he was still greatly perplexed in his own mind. It was not a question of mere private opinion. The individual view of Thomas Cranmer was one question, and even that, perhaps, not a view as to which he had arrived at clear and absolute conviction. He was considering the German view, whether it could possibly be upheld. But he was Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of All England, and any clear pronouncement on his part must affect the liberty of individual thinking within the whole Church of England. His period of suspense came to an end this same year which saw "the Order of Communion" issued by authority and the Lutheran "Catechism" published by himself. On the 28th September Bartholomew Traheron, writing from London, tells Bullinger that both Latimer and Cranmer had come over to their opinions, along with other bishops who had before held Lutheran views.[1] On the 27th November John ab Ulmis writes also to Bullinger from Oxford: "The bishops entertain right and excellent opinions respecting the Holy Supper of Jesus Christ. That abominable error and silly opinion of a carnal eating has been long since banished and entirely done away with. Even that Thomas (Cranmer) himself, about whom I wrote to you when I was in London, by the goodness of God and the instrumentality of that most upright and judicious man, John à Lasco, is in a great measure recovered from his dangerous lethargy."[2] And finally, at a disputation held in London on the 14th December, as Traheron once more writes to Bullinger at the end of the year—the "disputation" in question being a debate in the House of Lords—"the Archbishop of Canterbury, contrary to the general expectation, most openly, firmly, and learnedly maintained your opinion on this subject." He then gives a brief account of the Archbishop's

His change of mind declared.

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[1] *Original Letters* (Parker Soc.), p. 322.

[2] *Ib.* p. 383.

argument, and says he was followed by Ridley, Bishop of Rochester, "who handled the subject with so much eloquence, perspicuity, erudition and power, as to stop the mouth of that most zealous papist, the Bishop of Worcester (Heath). The truth never obtained a more brilliant victory among us. I perceive that it is all over with Lutheranism, now that those who were considered its principal and almost only supporters, have altogether come over to our side." And in a postscript he adds: "The foolish bishops have made a marvellous recantation."[1]

The effect of a declared change of mind by the Archbishop of Canterbury on such a cardinal point of doctrine was, of course, of a very marked description. The new school were vastly encouraged, and it is thus that John ab Ulmis writes to Bullinger on the 2nd March 1549:—

> As to what they have reported respecting religion, namely, that there are great differences of opinion, I admit that such has been the case to a considerable extent. But I can now assert that by the goodness of God the minds of all good men are disposed to harmony and peace. For the cause of these dissensions is removed in this present parliament,—namely, the babbling and dogmas of anti-Christ, which are now positively and effectually banished. I would here write you word what has been done and determined respecting the Lord's Supper, only that your most excellent and loving friend, Master Traheron, has already acquainted you with every particular. From him, therefore, you will learn the whole matter more completely, and from me these few things very briefly. The Archbishop of Canterbury, a man of singular worth and learning, has, contrary to the general expectation, delivered his opinion upon this subject learnedly, correctly, orderly, and clearly; and, by the weight of his character and the dignity of his language and sentiments, easily drew over all his hearers to our way of thinking. His opponent was that lying and subtle Cerberus, the Bishop of Winchester,[2]

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[1] *Original Letters* (Parker Soc.), pp. 322-3.

[2] Apparently this must be a mistake for "the Bishop of Worcester" (Heath), as Gardiner was not in the House of Lords but in the Tower. As to Heath's opposition, see Traheron's statement in *Original Letters*, p. 332.

together with a number of other babblers who were brought in, men who knew nothing else beyond a few quiddities, and those silly and false.[1]

That Cranmer's declaration in the end of the year 1548 really tended to silence discord among bishops and clergymen may be true. It was unquestionably favourable to the noisy party, and the opposite school were bound to show some respect for an Archbishop, however much they differed from him. But it was certainly high time to do something, not only to remedy disorder, but if possible to get rid of its causes. In a contemporary chronicle[2] we read as follows :—

> At this time was much preaching through all England against the Sacrament of the Altar, save only Mr. Laygton,[3] and he preached, in every place that he preached, against them all. And so was much controversy and much business in Paul's every Sunday, and fighting[4] in the church, and of none that were honest persons but boys and persons of little reputation; and would have made much more if there had not a way been taken. And at the last, the 28th day of September[5] following, there was a proclamation that none of both parties should preach unto such time as the Council had determined such things as they were in hand withal; for at that time divers of the bishops sat at Chertsey Abbey for divers matters of the King and the Council.

The same facts are also recorded by Odet de Selve, the French ambassador, writing on the 30th September, viz.: "that there are daily fights in the London churches whether there shall be mass or not"; and that to put an end to the disorder some bishops and divines were assembled at a place near the Court named "Chelsey" (a mistake, for the place was Chertsey), who were to determine what should be held true doctrine in England as to the Sacrament of the Altar.[1] But fighting in churches seems to have continued all through the reign, till at the last an Act of Parliament (5 and 6 Edw. VI. cap. 4) was passed against it, by which the ordinary was empowered to suspend for such offences any layman from the right of entering a church and any clerk from his ministrations, with the further penalty of loss of an ear.

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[1] *Original Letters*, p. 388.

[2] The *Grey Friars' Chronicle* (Camden Soc.), p. 56.

[3] Apparently William Layton, brother of the notorious Richard, who was now deceased.

[4] The editor has made this "syttyng in the Churche," but the word in the MS. is distinctly "fyttyng," which, of course, means fighting. I regret to find the same misreading in Mr. Howlett's edition of "The Grey Friars' Chronicle" in vol. ii. of the *Monumenta Franciscana* (Rolls Series).

[5] The editor reads the month "December," though he says it is erased in the MS. and the marginal correction burnt away. The 23rd September appears to be the true date. The text of the proclamation will be found in Cardwell's *Documentary Annals*, i. 70.

Peter Martyr on the state of religion in England.

We may as well hear also what another foreigner—a Protestant this time—says about the matter. Peter Martyr, writing to Bucer on the 26th December, tells him that the prospects of religion in England are really very encouraging, notwithstanding "the unhappy events in Germany." Yet he is greatly alarmed about two things: the first is the obstinate pertinacity of the friends of popery, who argued with wonderful cunning and sophistry. They were very numerous, and included a number of bishops and doctors who drew a multitude of ignorant persons along with them. Then he goes on to say:—

> The other matter which distresses me not a little is this, that there is so much contention among our people [those who were not papists] about the eucharist, that every corner is full of it. And even in the Supreme Council of the State, in which matters relating to religion are daily brought forward, there is so much disputing of the bishops among themselves and with others, as I think was never heard before. Whence those who are in the Lower House, as it is called, that is, men of inferior rank, go up every day into the higher court of parliament, not, indeed, for the purpose of voting (for that they do in the Lower House), but only that they may be able to hear these sharp and fervent disputations. Hitherto the popish party has been defeated, and the palm rests with our friends, but especially with the Archbishop of Canterbury, whom they till now were wont to traduce as a man ignorant

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[1] *Négociations de M. de Selve*, p. 453.

of theology, and as being only conversant with matters of government.[1]

Parliament, which had not met for business since the preceding December, and had been prorogued twice, had assembled once more on the 24th November, and such were its proceedings. The young King himself notes in his journal: "A Parliament was called, where an uniform order of prayer was institute, before made by a number of bishops and learned men gathered together in Windsor. There was granted a subsidy, and there was a notable disputation of the Sacrament in the Parliament House."[2]

This subsidy was granted on the 12th March, and on the 14th the Parliament was again prorogued. But the religious questions had come on much earlier in the session, as everybody expected they would constitute the leading business.[3] A tract by Peter Martyr, *Of the Sacrament of Thanksgiving*, was translated from the Latin and published on the 1st December, with a dedication to the Protector.[4] Meanwhile the bishops and divines who met at Chertsey, and afterwards transferred themselves to Windsor, had been preparing a manual of public worship in English, to be submitted to the legislature. The time about which the work was begun may be divined from the proclamation of the 23rd September, intimating that the King was determined shortly to provide a uniform order (of divine service), so as to put an end to all controversies, and that certain bishops and learned men were assembled by his Highness's command for that purpose.[5] The result of their labours was the compilation of a Prayer Book, which was submitted to the House of Lords on the 14th December, and was

The first Prayer Book.

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[1] *Original Letters* (Parker Soc.), pp. 469, 470.

[2] Nichols's *Literary Remains of King Edward VI.*, vol. ii. pp. 223-4.

[3] *Négoc. de M. de Selve*, p. 473.

[4] Gasquet and Bishop, p. 158.

[5] Wilkins, iv. 30, cited by Gasquet and Bishop, p. 145. The same proclamation has been cited above from Cardwell's *Documentary Annals*, i. 70.

the subject of those "sharp and fervent disputations" mentioned by Peter Martyr. Bishop Tunstall objected that "the adoration was left out of the book." Those who drew it up, he said, considered that there was nothing in the Sacrament but bread and wine. His speech drew forth comments from Cranmer and from Heath of Worcester; and at the end of the day Bishop Thirlby made a rather disconcerting remark that the book, as touching the doctrine of the Supper, was not agreed upon among the bishops, but was only in disputation. The Protector next day endeavoured to make out that the doctrine had been settled by a majority of votes; but Thirlby replied that things were not agreed upon till they were conceded. It was a duty to set forth God's truth in plain terms, and as this had not been done he could not agree to the doctrine. The Protector was seriously put out, and said Thirlby's words implied wilfulness and obstinacy. But Bonner brought a far more serious battery to bear. The doctrine of the proposed Prayer Book, he said, was not decent, because it had been condemned as heresy, not only abroad, but in England also, in the case of Lambert; and, proceeding further to show how the book countenanced heresy, he provoked Somerset more than ever. But it is needless to go into the whole controversy. The discussion lasted five days, and was closed by Cranmer on Wednesday, 19th December, when the book was sent down to the Commons, who at once returned it. The bill to authorise the new Prayer Book passed finally through the Lords in January 1549, when ten bishops voted for it and eight against.[1]

The First Act of Uniformity.

In the Commons it passed its third reading on the 21st, and it was to become operative from Whitsunday following. The measure thus became law, and is commonly known as the First Act of Uniformity.

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[1] Gasquet and Bishop, pp. 160-171, 397 *sq.*

Lord Seymour of Sudeley beheaded.

Just three days before it passed, the Protector's brother, Lord Seymour of Sudeley, was committed to the Tower, and in March following he was beheaded under an Act of attainder. This is not an event in the history of religion, but the story has much to do with the debased morals of the time and the factiousness of men in high position. The Protector himself was pulling down churches without remorse to build his palace of Somerset House, and appropriating other Church property as freely as might have been expected. In the summer, commotions became general in England. Kett's rebellion in Norfolk arose out of the enclosure of commons and other economic conditions created by the greed of nobles and the enormous forfeitures during the late reign; but it was one of the faults found with Somerset by his rivals, that he sympathised too much with the men who suffered and rebelled in this way. In Devonshire there was a rising of a different kind occasioned by the new Prayer Book. A stout resistance was made to authority. Exeter was besieged, and when the complaints of the insurgents were demanded, it appeared that they totally objected to all the religious innovations, thought the new service little better than "a Christmas game," desired the Six Articles revived, the English Bible called in again, and Cardinal Pole sent for from Rome to take a leading part in the King's Council.

The rising in the West.

I forbear to speak in detail of this great rising, as it is sufficient for my purpose to exhibit the main facts, though I think a complete study[1] of these would show that it was a much more formidable movement than historians generally have supposed. There is no doubt, indeed, of the serious alarm that it gave to the Government notwithstanding all their efforts to hide its gravity.

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[1] I am glad to know that a full account of this movement, written by a lady who has made such a complete study of it, is now on the eve of publication.

From the time the first spark was kindled at Sampford Courtenay, where the villagers compelled their parson, after beginning the use of the new service on Whitsunday, to revert to the old usage, the state of matters became more and more formidable. How an ill-armed peasantry blockaded the roads against the forces sent to disperse them; how they were driven out of their refuge by the burning of the barns at Crediton, but went on to Exeter, which they almost starved into surrender in a five-weeks' siege before Lord Russell could relieve it; and how Lord Russell was only able to approach the city after much fighting with another detachment of the malcontents and a fearful massacre of prisoners,—all this is for other pens than mine to relate minutely. At a time when there were disturbances all over the country about enclosures, this western rising was mainly, if not solely, for religion; and the forces sent to quell it were at first inadequate even to cope with peasantry in Devonshire lanes.

But undoubtedly the religious rising might have spread far into England, for it found much sympathy in other counties besides Devon and Cornwall. The demands of the insurgents at first were simply for a return to old usages in religion as they were in force in the reign of Henry VIII., and among them was that requirement for the revival of the Act of the Six Articles which may well seem strange to those who have been accustomed to look upon that Act as a great engine of religious persecution. But further articles were added to the catalogue of things demanded, some of which were so bold as to be almost unaccountable, except as proceeding from a firm belief on the part of the malcontents that the sense of the nation was with them against an oligarchy which was seeking to impose a new religion on the people. They actually required that four lords, eight knights, twelve esquires, and twenty yeomen should be delivered to them as pledges till their demands were conceded in Parliament. That the Council rebuked their presumption in this particular was no more than was to be expected if the Council deigned to reason with such petitioners at all. Yet the fact that they did deign to answer every one of the articles, sometimes with really good reasons, at other times with the best that they were capable of offering in their own justification, speaks volumes as to the necessity felt by the Government of not offending too deeply the conservative feelings of the people.

Cardinal Pole.

The demand made for the restitution of Cardinal Pole is extremely interesting. That people in the West country, where the influence of the Courtneys was great, strongly sympathised with another family belonging to the blood royal, and especially with one member of it so long kept an exile by the iniquity of the laws, is not in itself surprising. But it was not a mere personal question. From the day that he was made a cardinal, Pole had ceased to be the servant of any English ruler. Even in the year 1542 he had been designated by Pope Paul III. as one of the three legates who were to open the Council of Trent. The project of such a Council was delayed for three years by the outbreak of war between Francis I. and the Emperor, and a commencement was only made in December 1545. But in June 1546 Pole was obliged to leave Trent for Padua on account of his health, and in October the Pope sanctioned his return to Rome, where news of the death of Henry VIII. reached him early next year, and he eagerly hoped that an opportunity would now present itself to reclaim his country from schism. He wrote to the Privy Council before he knew who were to bear sway, warning them that they could establish no solid ground for government without reconciliation with Rome, and that the Pope, to whom the interests of the nation were very dear, was willing to send him as legate to

His correspondence with the Council.

redress past evils. But the Privy Council refused even to receive the messenger. Pole was one of six persons excepted by name from the general pardon proclaimed at the coronation, and the way to reconciliation with Rome had been barred from the very first.

In spite of this affront, Pole next year (1548) sent his servant, Throgmorton, to England to remonstrate on the incivility, and further to warn the Council of the danger they would incur if they alienated the Emperor by changes in religion. Throgmorton was not allowed an audience any more than the former messenger, but he received an indirect answer from the Protector that any letters which his master chose to write privately would be fully considered, and any emissary he might send into France or Flanders to speak for him would have a passport sent him to come to England.[1] On this, Pole on the 9th April 1549 despatched two special messengers to the Protector and a letter to Dudley, Earl of Warwick, offering, if they would not allow him to return to England, to repair to some neutral place near the English Channel to discuss points of difference. This time his messengers, at least, were received with courtesy, and dismissed with a written answer, though they knew it was unfavourable; but both they and Pole himself, when he read it, were astounded at the incivility of its tone. The Protector, writing apparently in the name of the Council, said that they regretted he had not yet discovered the abuses of Rome and did not show more regard for his own country and duty to his sovereign. Neither did he seem to recognise the light of Christ's word as it was truly taught in England. They had hoped, in the lenity of the times, he would have sought the King's pardon and licence to come home; but he wrote like a foreign prince and offered his King a place where he might confer with him or his commissioners. It was so long since they had forsaken Rome that it was strange to hear such language. They had no need of the Pope, and they made little of the dangers of foreign war and internal dissensions during the minority. If Pole wished to return to his country they would mediate for his pardon; and to show him the true state of matters there as regards religion, they sent him a copy of the new Prayer Book approved by Parliament, which they submitted to his criticism.[1]

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[1] *State Papers, Domestic, Edward VI.*, vol. v. No. 9.

Such a letter as this at first seemed to make reply impossible. But considering that his envoys had been well received, Pole affected to treat its rudeness as due to a secretary rather than to the Protector himself, and sent once more two messengers to England (perhaps the same as before) with a long letter to Somerset, in which he observed that the refusal to send any one to meet him, if it really came from the Council, saved him a long and laborious journey, which he would only have undertaken for the good of his country, and that as for demanding the King's pardon to enable him to return home, he was guilty of no offence, either to Edward or even to his father, for which he should require a pardon. Let the young King rather undo his father's injustice towards him, as Henry VIII. himself at the commencement of his reign had besought forgiveness of Pole's mother for *his* father's act in putting her brother the Earl of Warwick to death. If Edward were to act in like manner it would be for the benefit of his father's soul. Pole admitted, indeed, that as Cardinal, and especially if made Legate, he was no longer subject to his own natural sovereign; but they might command him still in all things for the weal of his country. As to their proceedings in religion, he was not convinced of their sincerity. They had repealed the Act of the Six Articles, of which he approved, and confirmed the worst enactments of the preceding reign. He had not desired a conference with the King, who was but a boy, but with any of his responsible ministers, and he had desired it on their account to prevent the enforcement of ecclesiastical censures against them. He not only suggested the probability of the Emperor's interference, but confessed that he himself had even urged it if matters did not improve. And he went on at very great length to justify his past warnings, when, as he was concluding, news reached him of the rebellions in Norfolk and the West of England, which seemed in themselves a sufficient commentary on all that he had said.[1]

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[1] *State Papers, Domestic, Edward VI.*, vol. vii. No. 28.

This letter, which was dated 7th September 1549, was the last letter of Pole to the Protector, who was, as we shall see presently, now on the eve of his fall. The way the kingdom was convulsed, east and west, and in various parts besides, was in itself in the highest degree alarming. Martial law had been proclaimed in London itself on the 18th July; and on Sunday, the 21st, Archbishop Cranmer came "suddenly" to St. Paul's, as one authority tells us,[2] but not without ceremony, as we learn from the fuller account given by another;[3] for "there in the choir after matins, in a cope with an alb under it, and his cross borne afore him, with two priests of Paul's for deacon and subdeacon, with albs and tunicles, the dean following him in his surplice," he made an exhortation to the people to pray to God for mercy, giving a narrative of the risings which had come upon them for their sins. The Lord Mayor and most of the Aldermen sat in the choir along with him. The litany was sung kneeling, according to the King's book, with a special prayer for the occasion; and then the Archbishop "did the office himself in a cope and no vestment, nor mitre nor cross, but a cross staff; and so did all the office, and his satin cap on his head all the time of the office; and so gave the communion himself unto eight persons of the said church." He again preached at St. Paul's on Saturday the 10th August for a victory won over the rebels in Devonshire, and on the 31st, after the Norfolk rebels were subdued, he sent his chaplain, Joseph, to preach there for him.

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[1] Strype's *Cranmer*, p. 835 (App.). [2] *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 60.
[3] Wriothesley's *Chronicle*, ii. 16.

The Princess Mary and her Mass.

But before these disturbances the forward policy in religion had met with a serious obstacle in one important quarter. The Princess, or, as she was officially called, the Lady Mary, continued her Mass, and ignored the new Prayer Book and Order of Communion altogether. It was difficult to pass this over, as it would naturally encourage others. On Sunday the 16th June 1549, as appears by the Acts of the Privy Council, the Lords wrote to her, "giving to her advice to be conformable and obedient to the observation of his Majesty's laws, to give order that the mass should be no more used in her house, that she would embrace and cause to be celebrate in her said house the communion and other divine services set forth by his Majesty, and that her Grace would send to the said Lord Protector and Council her Comptroller, and Dr. Hopton her chaplain, by whom her Grace should be advertised from their Lordships more amply of their minds, to both her contentation and honour."[1]

Mary was at this time at Kenninghall in Norfolk, from which place she answered them six days later in the following terms:—

To my Lord Protector and the rest of the King's Majesty's Council.

My Lord, I perceive by the letters which I late received from you and other of the King's Majesty's Council, that ye be all sorry to find so little conformity in me touching the observation of his Majesty's laws; who am well assured that I have offended no law, unless it be a law of your own making for the altering of matters in religion; which, in my conscience, is not worthy to have the name of a law, both for the King's honour's sake, the wealth of the realm, and giving an occasion of an evil bruit through all Christendom, besides the partiality used in the same, and (as my said conscience is very well persuaded) the offending of God, which passeth all the rest. But I am well assured that the King his father's laws were all allowed and consented to without compulsion by the whole realm, both spiritual and temporal, and all the executors sworn upon a book to fulfil the same, so that it was an authorized law; and that I have obeyed, and will do, with the grace of God, till the King's Majesty, my brother, shall have sufficient years to be a judge in these matters himself. Wherein, my Lords, I was plain to you at my last being in the Court, declaring unto you, at that time, whereunto I would stand, and now do assure you all, that the only occasion of my stay from altering mine opinion is for two causes—one principally for my conscience' sake, the other that the King my brother shall not hereafter charge me to be one of those that were agreeable to such alterations in his tender years. And what fruits daily grow by such changes since the death of the King my father, to every indifferent person it well appeareth, both to the displeasure of God and unquietness of the realm. Notwithstanding, I assure you all, I would be as loth to see his Highness take hurt, or that any evil should come to this his realm, as the best of you all; and none of you have the like cause, considering how I am compelled by nature, being his Majesty's poor and humble sister, most tenderly to love and pray for him, and unto this his realm (being born within the same) wish all health and prosperity, to God's honor. And if any judge of me the contrary for mine opinion's sake (as I trust none doth), I doubt not in the end, with God's help, to prove myself as true a natural and humble sister as they of the contrary opinion, with all their devices and altering of laws, shall prove themselves true subjects; praying you, my Lord and the rest of the Council, no more to trouble and unquiet me with matters touching my conscience, wherein I am at a full point, with God's help, whatsoever shall happen to me; intending, with His grace, to trouble you little with any worldly suits, but to bestow the short time I think to live in

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[1] *Acts of Privy Council*, ii. 291-2.

Her reply to the Council.

quietness, and pray for the King's Majesty and all you; heartily wishing that your proceedings may be to God's honor, the safeguard of the King's person, and quietness to the whole realm.

Moreover, whereas your desire is that I should send my Comptroller and Dr. Hopton unto you, by whom you would signify your minds more amply to my contentation and honor, it is not unknown to you all that the chief charge of my house resteth only upon the travails of my said Comptroller, who hath not been absent from my house three whole days since the setting up of the same, unless it were for my letters patent; so that if it were not for his continual diligence I think my little portion would not have stretched so far. And my chaplain, by occasion of sickness, hath been long absent, and is not yet able to ride. Therefore, like as I cannot forbear my Comptroller, and my priest is not able to journey, so shall I desire you, my Lord, and all the rest of the Council, that, having anything to be declared to me, except matters of religion, ye will either write your minds or send some trusty person, with whom I shall be contented to talk and make answer as the case shall require; assuring you that if any servant of mine, either man, or woman, or chaplain, should move me to the contrary of my conscience, I would not give ear to them, nor suffer the like to be used within my house. And thus, my Lord, with my hearty commendations, I wish unto you and the rest as well to do as myself.

From my house at Kenninghall, the 22d of June 1549.
Your assured friend to my power, MARY.[1]

They again insist on her sending up her servants.

That the Council did not relish this answer is intelligible enough, but, at least, they might have shown some consideration for the royal lady with whom they were in correspondence, and not have forced her to part, even for a time, with a chaplain who was so unwell, and a servant who was so necessary for the affairs of her household. This, however, was what they insisted on doing, sending down into Norfolk a summons, not only to her Comptroller and her chaplain, but also to another of her servants, named Englefield, on their allegiance to come up and appear before the Council. On receipt of this Mary wrote again on the 27th, saying that Mr. Englefield was ready to have gone up without any summons at all as soon as he could, his horses being a long way off. But as to the other two, she was surprised, if they had received her letter, that they did not weigh what she had said, and, if not, that they had not waited for her answer. Notwithstanding the inconvenience to herself and her two dependents, since they insisted on their coming up under "extreme words of peril," she had felt it necessary to allow them, though she feared her poor sick priest's life would be in real danger from the journey, and she had commanded her Comptroller to return immediately, as she could not spare him.[1]

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[1] Foxe, vi. 7.

The Council, it may be, did allow her Comptroller to return without delay, but Dr. Hopton was detained till the 7th July, when he was despatched again to her,[2] with a message in reply to her first letter. This had been drawn up, apparently, in anticipation of his coming, in the form of memoranda, dated at Richmond, 14th June, which no doubt is a mistake for the 24th[3]—the day they would naturally have received Mary's letter of the 22nd. But Dr. Hopton did not leave Norfolk before the 27th, and the heads of what he was to say to his mistress were already formulated before he came. The first of these memoranda was as follows:—

> Her Grace writeth "that the law made by Parliament is not worthy the name of law," meaning the statute for the communion, etc.
>
> You shall say thereto: "The fault is great in any subject to disallow a law of the King, a law of the realm, by long study, free disputation and uniform determination of the whole clergy consulted, debated, and concluded; but the greater fault is in Her Grace, being next of any subject in blood and estate to the King's Majesty, her brother and good

Points of their answer to her.

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[1] Foxe, vi. 10.

[2] Pocock's *Troubles connected with the Prayer-book of 1549*, p. 20.

[3] Foxe, vi. 8.

lord, to give example of disobedience, being a subject, or of unnaturalness, being His Majesty's sister, or of neglecting the power of the Crown, she being by limitation of law next to the same. The example of disobedience is most perilous in this time as she can well understand. Her unkindness resteth on the King's own acceptation. The neglecting of the power before God is answerable, and in the world toucheth her honor.

In reply to the remark that the executors were sworn to Henry VIII.'s laws, the Council admit the fact, but observe "that it is no law which is dissolved by a law," and she must not do the King, her brother, such an injury as to deny his authority by consent of Parliament, to "alter unprofitable laws." And so on, the memoranda answer her letter, point by point, and answer also some things which are not in the letter, but probably were contained in a private message sent along with it.

Of course the contention of the Council was indisputable, that one law can repeal another law; but still the question of authority remained. That statute law could regulate religion at all was an idea which had never been entertained before the preceding reign; yet, if it could at other times, it was felt that, during a minority at least, so high a matter ought not to be further disturbed. For when special precautions had been taken to guard against serious innovations even by Parliament, till the King should be fully twenty-four years old, how could he be thought competent now in his twelfth year to discharge adequately the extraordinary functions of a "Supreme Head" of the Church of England? If anything in Mary's letter was really open to question, it was the assertion that her father's laws were agreed to "without compulsion by the whole realm." That was certainly not the case, but it was a statement which it hardly became the Council to challenge. Nevertheless the Protector actually did note the weak point and answered her upon that among other things, after a fashion of his own. Mary, however, had no answer from the Council, even to her first letter of the 22nd, till Dr. Hopton's return; and she felt it necessary to address to them a still stronger remonstrance as follows:—

Mary makes a stronger remonstrance.

It is no small grief to me to perceive that they whom the King's Majesty, my father (whose soul God pardon), made in this world of nothing in respect of that they be come to now, and at his last end put in trust to see his will performed, whereunto they were all sworn upon a book—it grieveth me, I say, for the love I bear to them, to see both how they break his will and what usurped power they take upon them in making (as they call it) laws, both clean contrary to his proceedings and will, and also against the custom of all Christendom, and (in my conscience) against the law of God and His Church, which passeth all the rest. But though you among you have forgotten the King, my father, yet both God's commandment and nature will not suffer me to do so. Wherefore, with God's help, I will remain an obedient child to his laws as he left them, till such time as the King's Majesty, my brother, shall have perfect years of discretion to order the power that God hath sent him, and to be a judge in these matters himself; and I doubt not but he shall then accept my so doing better than theirs which have taken a piece of his power upon them in his minority.

I do not a little marvel that you can find fault with me for observing of that law which was allowed by him that was a King, not only of power but also of knowledge how to order his power,—to which law all you consented, and seemed at that time, to the outward appearance, very well to like the same,—and that you could find no fault[1] all this while with some amongst yourselves for running half-a-year before that which you now call a law,—yea, and before the bishops came together; wherein, methinketh, you do me very much wrong if I should not have as much pre-eminence to continue in keeping a full authorised law made without partiality, as they had both to break the law which at that time, yourselves must needs confess, was of full power and strength, and to use alterations of their own invention, contrary both to that ye (*sic*), and to your new law as you call it.[1]

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[1] Here occurs a caret with a mark referring to one or two sentences written in the margin for insertion, but these are so mutilated that they cannot be made out.

The original MS. from which the above is printed is a rough draft in Mary's own handwriting. The letter must have been dated the 2nd July; and on receipt of it the Protector at length set himself to answer her first letter, which he did in the following terms:—

The Protector's answer to Mary.

Madam, my humble commendations to your Grace premised.

These may be to signify unto the same that I have received your letters of the 2d of this present by Jent your servant, reknowledging myself thereby much bounden unto your Grace. Nevertheless I am very sorry to perceive that your Grace should have or conceive any sinister or wrong opinion in me and others which were by the King, your late father and our most gracious master, put in trust as executors of his will. Albeit, the truth of our doings being knowen to your Grace, as it seemeth by your said letter not to be, I trust there shall be no such fault found in us as in the same your Grace hath alleged; and for my part I know none of us that will willingly neglect the full execution of every jot of his said will as far as shall and may stand with the King our master's honor and surety that now is; otherwise I am sure that your Grace, nor none other his faithful subjects would have it take place. Not doubting but our doings and proceedings therein, and in all things committed to our charge, shall be such as shall be able to answer the whole world, both in honor and discharge of our duties.

And where your Grace writeth that the most part of the Realm, thorough a naughty liberty and presumption, are now brought into such a division as, if we executors go not about to bring them to that stay that our late master left them, they will forsake all obedience unless they have their own wills and fantazies; and then it must follow that the King shall not be well served, and that all other realms shall have us in an obloquy and derision, and not without just cause:—Madam, as these words written or spoken by you soundeth not well, so can I not persuade myself that they have proceeded from the sincere mind of so virtuous and wise a lady, but rather by the setting on and procurement of some uncharitable and malicious persons, of which sort there are too many in these days, the more pity. But yet we must not be so simple so to weigh and regard the sayings of ill disposed people, and the doings of other realms and countries as for that respect we should neglect our duty to God and to our Sovereign Lord and native country, for then we might be justly called evil servants and ministers. And thanks be given unto the Lord, such hath been the King's Majesty's proceedings, our young noble master that now is, that all his faithful subjects have more cause to render their hearty thanks for the manifest benefits showed unto his Grace and to his people and realm sithence the first day of his reign until this hour than to be offended with it, and thereby rather to judge and think that God, who knoweth the hearts of all men, is contented and pleased with his ministers, who seeketh nothing but the true glory of God and the surety of the King's person, with the quietness and wealth of his subjects.

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[1] MS. Lansdowne, 1236, f. 28. The document has been printed in Ellis's *Original Letters* (First Series), ii. 161.

And where your Grace writeth also that there was a godly order and quietness left by the King our late master, your Grace's father, in this realm at the time of his death, and that the spiritualty and the temporalty of the whole realm did not only without compulsion fully assent to his doings and proceedings, specially in matters of religion, but also in all kind of talk, whereof, as your Grace wrote, ye can partly be witness yourself: At which your Grace's sayings I do something marvel. For, if it may please you to call to your remembrance what great labors, travails and pains his Grace had before he could reform some of those stiffnecked Romanists or papists—yea, and did not they cause his subjects to rise and rebel against him and constrained him to take the sword in his hand, not without danger to his person and realm! Alas, why should your Grace so shortly forget that great outrage done by those generations of vipers unto his noble person, only for God's cause? Did not some of the same ill kind also—I mean that Romanist sect, as well within his own realm as without—conspire oftentimes his death, which was manifestly and oftentimes proved, to the confusion of some of their privy assisters? Then was it not that all the spiritualty nor yet the temporalty did so fully assent to his godly orders as your Grace writeth of. Did not his Grace also depart from this life before he had fully finished such godly orders as he minded to have established to all his people if death had not prevented him? Is it not most true that no kind of religion was perfited at his death, but left all uncertain, most like to have brought us in parties and divisions if God had not only helped us? And doth your Grace think it convenient it should so remain? God forbid! What regret and sorrow our late master had, the time he saw he must depart, for that he knew the religion was not established as he purposed to have done, I and others can be witness and testify. And what he would have done further in it if he had lived a great many knoweth, and also I can testify. And doth your Grace, who is learned and should know God's Word, esteem true religion and the verity of the Scriptures to be newfangleness and fantasie? For the Lord's sake, turn the leaf and look another while upon the other side. I mean, with another judgment, which must pass (?) by an humble spirit thorough the grace of the living God, who of His infinite goodness and mercy grant unto your Grace plenty thereof, to the satisfying of your conscience and your most noble heart's continual desire.[1]

In writing thus the Protector was simply taking up a defensive attitude to vindicate his own and the Council's proceedings. They had already urged the Princess to show herself conformable to the new services and give up the Mass, and they must have been convinced that it was no use pressing her more strongly. At the same time, Mary's view that they had no authority to make changes in religion was all the more dangerous, because it was undoubtedly shared by many, especially by the insurgents in the West; and they had actually heard rumours connecting some of her servants with the disturbances. These seem to have been ill founded; but the Council were at least justified in asking for some explanations. In fact they could not afford to let matters rest, and on the 18th July they sent Mary the following letter[2]:—

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[1] From a draft in Somerset's own hand in MS. Cott., Faustina, C ii, 64. This letter is printed in Burnet's *Collections*.

[2] Printed here (I think for the first time) from the *State Papers, Domestic, Edward VI.*, vol. viii. No. 30. The MS. is a corrected draft, endorsed "M. to my lady Mry, xviiith of July 1549."

After our due commendations unto your Grace, the same doth understand, we doubt not, the seditious assemblies, tumults, and other unlawful doings of many lewd persons in sundry places of the realm, directly against God, against their allegiance to the King's Majesty and the commonwealth of the realm. For the stay whereof, like as we have done, and from time to time will, by the aid of God, [do] all that in us may be; so, nothing doubting [but that] your Grace is of the same good-will and disposition, we could not but advertise you of that [which] we have heard of certain servants of yours, who, being reported unto us to be chief stirrers, procurators, and doers in these commotions, whereof one is a priest and chaplain of your Grace's now being at Sandford Courtney in Devonshire, and one other servant of yours in Suffolk, called Pooley, late a receiver, who is reported to be not only a captain of the worst sort of them that be assembled in Suffolk, but also to be of such credit amongst the assemblies of these rebels in all other places as his passport only may give good security to go and come as they will, even to Devonshire. We hear also of one other household servant of yours called Lyonel [who is a[1]] . . . and of great like credit amongst the rebels. And albeit we think your Grace hath no certain knowledge of these your servants' doings, yet for that your proceedings in matters of religion be such as are openly known to be against the proceedings of the King's Majesty and the whole realm, and such as [we fear] have given no small courage to many of these men to require and do as they do, we thought necessary not only to give your Grace notice of the premises, and that in many places they seem to take both example and great courage of your doings, but also to pray you to give order for the . . . y of your servants, so as the world have no occasion to judge that any towards you should be doers in these things against His Majesty.

The Council seek to implicate Mary's servants in the risings.

This letter Mary received on the 20th and replied to it the same day, the substance of what she wrote being condensed for us by Strype[2] as follows:—

She showed how she had not one chaplain in those parts; that Pooley remained continuously in her house and was never doer among the Commons, nor came into their com-

Her reply.

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[1] Crossed out.

[2] *Eccl. Memorials*, II. i. 277.

pany. It is true she had another servant of that name dwelling in Suffolk; and whether the Commons had taken him or no she could not tell; but by report they had taken by force many gentlemen in those quarters, and used them very cruelly, and perhaps so he might be served. That as for the third, she could not but marvel at the bruit of him; especially because he dwelt within two miles of London, and was not acquainted with the shires of Suffolk or Norfolk, nor at any time came into those parts but when he waited upon her at her house, and was then at London, about her business; being also a man not at all apt or meet for such purposes, but given to as much quietness as any within her house. She added, it troubled her to hear such reports of any of hers, and especially where no cause was given, trusting that her household should try themselves true subjects to the King's Majesty, and honest quiet persons, or else she would be loth.

And as for herself, she assured the Protector that these stirs did not less offend her than him and the rest of the Council. And for Devonshire, no indifferent person could lay their doings to her charge, for she had neither land nor acquaintance in that country. And whereas they charged her that her proceedings in matters of religion should have given no small courage to many of those men to require and to do as they did; that, she said, appeared to be most untrue, for that all the rising about the parts where she was was touching no part of religion. But even as they ungently and without desert charged her, so she omitted so fully to answer it as the cause required, and would pray God that their new alterations and unlawful liberties were not rather the occasions of these assemblies than her doings, who was, God she took to witness, inquieted therewith.

Before matters had gone much further, the necessity of some compromise seems to have occurred strongly to the minds of the Council; for among the State Papers there is a draft letter to Mary from the King her brother, regretting her refusal of the new Order of Common Prayer, but allowing her a dispensation for herself and her household to have private service in her own chamber; and forms for that dispensation are in the same collection.[1] So Mary's mass was in this way tolerated,—but only, as we shall see, for a time.

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[1] See Dixon's *Hist. of the Ch. of England*, iii. 148, *note*.

Of course, when even a princess was told that she must obey a new authority in religious matters, it was most important to keep the bishops in complete subjection, whatever their feelings might be. Gardiner was secure in prison; but the Council did not feel comfortable about Bonner. His submission to the royal visitation had been somewhat forced; but, apparently, it had been perfectly loyal, and he had even complied with orders affecting ritual which could scarcely have agreed with his own judgment. Nevertheless, the Council addressed to him a letter on the 2nd August, telling him that through his evil example and his slackness in preaching and instructing the people, they absented themselves from prayer and the Holy Communion. They frequented foreign rites and masses such as were not allowed by the orders of the realm. Moreover adultery and fornication abounded. The bishop had been admonished of these things, but had made no redress. They therefore peremptorily commanded him to reform that neglect; and they also required him to preach a sermon at St. Paul's against the sin of rebellion, the heads of which sermon they prescribed for him, adding some further directions in consequence of the defeat of the rebels.[1]

Bishop Bonner.

He accordingly preached at Paul's Cross on the 1st September, and apparently meant to do his duty, even as regards the Government. He did declare in his sermon the unlawfulness of rebellion, but he was no less anxious to set forth that old sacramental doctrine in which he still believed, and which he felt was now being imperilled by irreverence and fanaticism. He perhaps did not like to be dictated to as to the exact line that he should take, but he honestly tried to do all that he was asked to do, especially in declaring the sinfulness of rebellion.

His sermon at Paul's Cross.

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[1] *State Papers, Domestic, Edw. VI.*, vol. viii. Nos. 36, 37.

There were, however, among his hearers two men who were very ready to inform against him for any omission, and there was one thing which he omitted by sheer inadvertence. Among four articles that he was enjoined to set forth one was that the King's authority was quite as great, and what he did quite as valid, as if he had been thirty or forty years old; and this he unfortunately did not do. It was really an additional article subjoined to the other three at the last moment, and he had overlooked it when he was in the pulpit, though even in this matter he had really intended to do what was required of him. He had, in fact, made a number of notes of historical precedents, which he had accidentally dropped; and being also required, the day before, to declare the victories gained over the rebels in Devonshire, Cornwall, and Norfolk, he had forgotten the matter of the King's nonage. For this he was denounced by John Hooper (of whom much was to be heard by and by) and William Latimer, both known to him as heretical clergymen who had despised his authority; Hooper, indeed, having preached within his diocese on the very day of his sermon in flat contradiction to him. It was clear the tables were to be turned on orthodoxy, and what once was heresy was to be supported by authority. The commission appointed to examine him consisted of Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Ridley (at this time of Rochester), Mr. Secretary Petre, and Bonner's own dean, Dr. May; in addition to whom, on the second day, Sir Thomas Smith, the King's other secretary, took his seat upon the bench. Bonner protested to no purpose against this and other irregularities—declaring, indeed, that the whole of the proceedings were invalid. Sentence of deprivation was ultimately passed upon him, and he, like Gardiner, passed the remainder of the reign in prison.[1]

He is deprived.

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[1] The proceedings against him will be found in Foxe, v. 750-800.

How shamefully unjust and one-sided the proceedings were may be judged by one fact pointed out by Bonner himself. The suggestion of disloyalty being involved in his omission to set forth the fulness of authority that resided in a king under age was but a weak insinuation in comparison with some things for which one of his accusers could vouch against others. For William Latimer had heard with his own ears "divers persons at sundry and divers times" use language to this effect. "Tush!" they would say, "the King is but a babe or child. What laws can he make, or what can he do in his minority? Let him have a toast and butter, or bread and milk; and that is more meet for him than to make laws or statutes to bind us to obey them. We are not bound to obey till he be past his minority and come to his full and perfect age."[1] This was the very sentiment that the Council was most anxious to discourage, and Bonner had never gone the length of such utterances. And yet Latimer was never asked to bring in the persons he had heard use such language, as he was bound to do, and the Council showed no desire to prosecute them. Most probably such persons were too numerous to be prosecuted; and instead of attempting to put them down by law, the Council got Latimer's namesake, the quondam bishop of Worcester, to preach them down, which he did in the king's presence, early in this very year.[2]

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[1] Foxe, v. 777.

[2] See his second sermon before King Edward where he says: "And when had the King's Majesty a Council that took more pain both night and day for the setting forth of God's Word and profit of the Commonwealth? And yet there be some wicked people that will say 'Tush, this gear will not tarry; it is but my lord Protector's and my lord of Canterbury's doing. The King is a child and he knoweth not of it.' Jesu mercy! How like are we Englishmen to the Jews, ever stubborn, stiff-necked, and walking in byways! Yea, I think no Jew would at any time say 'This gear will not tarry.' I never heard nor read at any time that they said 'These laws were made in such a king's days, when he was but a child; let us alter them.' O Lord what pity is this, that we should be worse than the Jews!"—Latimer's *Sermons*, pp. 117-18 (Parker Soc.). If this was the best answer to the insinuation that could be given before royalty itself, it was certainly not a very strong one.

Position of Somerset as Protector.

But now a great change was impending in the body politic—a change due, apparently, to personal jealousies and envy as much as to any other cause. Although the Council had agreed from the very first that Somerset should be Protector, and had even put him over their own heads more unreservedly by the commission of the 12th March 1547, dislike of his ascendancy must certainly have been growing. Just before his Scottish campaign he obtained, under date the 11th August,[1] a commission as the King's Lieutenant and Captain-General of wars both by land and sea; and, of course, his victory at Pinkie Cleuch in September covered him with glory. At the opening of Parliament in November following, a special place was assigned to him by writ of Privy Seal where he should always sit apart, whether the King was present or not, and he was given all the privileges ever enjoyed by any previous Protector during a minority, notwithstanding a statute of 31 Hen. VIII. about the placing of the Lords in the Parliament Chamber. He was then at the height of his power. Yet at the end of that session on Christmas Eve, he was persuaded to surrender those two patents of 12th March and 11th August for a fuller grant from the Crown which was witnessed by the signatures, both of King Edward himself at the head, and of all the Lords present in Parliament that day. In this document he is appointed "to be our chief and principal counsellor, and chiefest and highest of our Privy Council"; and, for the rest, it was almost in every point an ample confirmation of the contents of the two patents surrendered. But there was one important exception. The office of Protector was not to be held absolutely during the whole time of the minority, but was by this grant to be terminable at the King's pleasure. So a well concerted cabal could easily unseat him at any time.

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[1] Misplaced by Rymer in the year 1548, as pointed out by Nichols in *Archæologia*, xxx. 470, *note* o.

Now the kingdom had been seriously weakened by the many rebellions in different places, and was further threatened by a foreign enemy. At the very time when the Norfolk rebellion was at its height the French had taken and fortified Sark, and the French King himself was in the field with an army which took several places near Boulogne, and seemed in a fair way to recover that much-prized conquest of Henry VIII.[1] Then the Earl of Warwick, having subdued the Norfolk rebels, came up to London, where many of the Council, disaffected towards the Protector's government, had withdrawn from Court. He held a consultation with them at Ely Place, Holborn. They proclaimed Somerset a traitor on the 8th October, and by the 14th had him separated from the King and lodged him in the Tower. Articles were drawn up accusing him of manifold offences, which he confessed to save his life. The Protectorate was at an end, and a new government was to take its place. What was that new government likely to be?

He is committed to the Tower.

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[1] Pocock's *Troubles* (Camden Soc.), pp. 60, 67-8. Turnbull's *Calendar*, p. 46.

CHAPTER III

ENGLAND, TRENT, AND THE 'INTERIM'

Causes of Somerset's fall.

It was not very wonderful that the Protectorship of Somerset came to a sudden end. We have just seen that he himself had consented to some changes being made in his position by letters patent, which, while apparently maintaining and even enhancing his dignity so long as it lasted, made him more easily removable. And even if he had been, what he really was not, one of the most sagacious and thoughtful of possible statesmen, there was never a time when English statesmanship could have been more severely tried. The fall of the monasteries in the preceding reign had led to an enormous redistribution of property. The spoils had been absorbed by greedy courtiers who became hard landlords. The crushing out of superstition was ill compensated by unbridled covetousness and peculation, even in high places. The reign of pious uses had given way to the reign of selfishness, and the debased currency was accompanied by a debased commercial morality. The influence of a new religion is known to have caused one case of "conscience money" being sent in to the Exchequer, but we hear of no other. The new landlords raised the rents of their tenants, and also encroached upon their rights by enclosures in the common fields. Prices rose inordinately, and the poor labourers hardly knew how to live.

Somerset himself was undoubtedly sensible of the evils of the time—at least of many of them—if his knowledge of them had been equalled by firmness in attempting to grapple with them, and some things that he did were highly meritorious. On the 1st June 1548 he issued a commission[1] in the King's name to six very worthy men for redress of the great injustice of enclosures. Taking note in the preamble of a good deal of legislation in the two preceding reigns against "pulling down of towns for enclosures and converting of arable land into pastures," also for limiting the number of sheep to be kept by one man at a time, and for maintaining "hospitality, housekeeping, and tillage" on the sites of the smaller monasteries suppressed by Parliament in 1536, it goes on to observe that those statutes "have not wrought that [which] was hoped should follow, partly for that the same, for fear of displeasure and chiefly through the corruption and infection of private lucre grown universally among our subjects, were not put in execution." The word "partly" in this quotation is delightful. But what follows is of painful significance: "By reason whereof the force and puissance of this our realm, which was wont to be greatly feared of all foreign powers, is very much decayed, our people wonderfully abated, and those that remain grievously oppressed, the price of all things exceedingly increased, and the common sort of our subjects brought to and kept in extreme misery and poverty."

His Commission touching enclosures.

A Government which declares the evils of the time so plainly condemns itself if it do not find adequate remedies. The facts require no deeper colouring or further setting forth than the confession thus made by Somerset himself. Yet it may not be unprofitable to show how they were forced upon his attention from outside; and we have in a contemporary poem,

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[1] Printed in full in Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, II. ii. 348 (Appendix P).

A political poem.

entitled *Vox Populi vox Dei,*[1] addressed to the young King himself, such a vivid picture of the state of the country during the Protectorship that a few snatches from it, even retaining occasional rhymes in a prose epitome, will do more to bring before the reader the sad realities than the words of any historian.

The writer professes in one place to be a poor shepherd. He begs the King to be not wroth for telling of the troth. Lordships and lands are now in few men's hands. The poor commons can scarce feed a horse; they can scant keep even a sow as the world is now, while those of late made rich have too, too myche. They have grown so "by grazing and regrating, by prowling and debating, by rolling and by dating, by cheke and chekemating," and various irregular practices. "So that your poor men say, they still pay, pay, pay." They are in such penury that they can neither sell nor buy. "For grasiers and regraters with so many sheep masters that of arable ground make pastures" will undo this land if they continue. Every "drawing day" the butcher more must pay for his fatting ware. Prices continually rise, and the butcher cannot sell a carcase under 12 shillings or a mark, besides the offal and the fleece. What poor man now is able to have meat on his table? An ox at five pound if he be anything round! My Lords, you know as well as I, this makes the commons cry.

Yet not long ago were preachers one or two, who insisted that it was high time to repent this covetousness. "From Scotland into Kent this preaching was besprent; and from the East front unto St. Michael's Mount"; it reached all men's ears that from pillar to post the poor man he was lost. Not merely the labouring man, but the good yeoman that used to have plenty of cows and cream, butter, eggs and cheese, honey, wax and bees. Now, alack! alack! All these men go to wrack. And if these men fail you when you want to resist enemies from abroad, what then?

Look at these upstart gentlemen who of late did sup out of an ashen cup, but whose table is now covered with plate well worth two hundred pound! These are they that devour the goods of the poor. And merchant men are undoing most part of your gentlemen, getting them to give bonds till they have all their lands. Nor have you ten merchants out of a hundred that venture further than into Flanders or France, for fear of some mischance. They lie at home, purchasing lands by mortgage out of all gentlemen's hands. But which way doth the wind blow? Our covetous lords are occupied with fines for farms, surveys and surrenders, inclosures and extenders. Hawl in your main sheet. The tempest is too great. The poor daily see how officers take their fees, "some ill, and some yet worse. As good right as to pick their purse." Then, the coin is scanty and much too base. Merchants say they find it difficult to exchange beyond sea. Our pound was once better than theirs by nine, but now it is no better than theirs, scarce so good.

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[1] Printed in Furnivall's *Ballads from Manuscripts*, vol. i. part i. pp. 124-6, with an admirable introduction beginning at p. 108.

Poor men's rents are daily deferred. The rich man comes in and is sure to win. The poor man waits at the door like an Iceland cur and dare not once stir, except to go away and come another day, when he finds it agreed by my lady Mistress Meed that he must leave his farm and take to something else. The landlord will get it all to himself, and make the utmost of it, stocking it with sheep and cattle, and ploughing the ground no more, except the farmer will give a higher rent and a fine. Few make good cheer. The farmer must sell his gosse (goose?) as he may be able, to pay for his house, or be turned out for non-payment at Lady day. "And then he and his wife, with their children, all their life, doth cry out and ban upon this cursed covetous man."

But God's Word is well set forth! It never was so hallowed, or so little followed. We have banished superstition, but we still have ambition. We have taken monks' lands for their abuse, but have put them to a worse use.

How can such men as compound for an office of two thousand pound do justice to the poor? Never was such misery and such usury. The infinite number of poor men hope to get redress from my lord Protector. But to keep his good name he must put aside all excuses and punish these great abuses, these fines and new uses, suppressing this shameful usury commonly called husbandry.

The poem is in eleven sections, each ending with words like these, a little varied:—

> Your commons thus do say,
> If they had it they would pay.
> Vox populi, vox Dei.[1]

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[1] The Latin pronunciation of the time would certainly have made "Dei" rhyme with "pay."

O most noble King,
Consider well this thing.

This is not a complete abstract of the whole poem, but it gives the most material points. And the reader will no doubt observe that the poet, deeply conscious of the social evils of the time, says very little about religion; moreover, that which he does say about it is ironical. This is quite as might have been expected in a poem addressed in form to the King, but mainly to the Lord Protector and to the Council. Religion as "by law established," or as established by the ruling powers for the time being, was already a settled principle. The rulers of the State took the full responsibility for religion as a matter of public concern affecting the common weal; and who was to impugn what they had done as regards that? Not, certainly, a humble petitioner like our poet, a shepherd (or one who professed to be such), who was appealing in this very poem to my Lord Protector to correct social abuses. Whoever would quarrel with the Government on a matter of religion was a friend of the Church of Rome; for in such a matter, if the rulers of the land were not ordering things aright, no other authority could be appealed to but the Pope. Hence the very insurrections that disturbed the Protector's rule were not, for the most part, on account of religious change, although they were so in Devonshire. Even Kett and his followers on Mousehold Hill accepted the new services just set forth by authority, and had a priest to pray for them in English, morning and evening, according to the prescribed forms.

But as regards the positive dangers that were growing up — danger of insurrection within the country and from enemies outside—how did the case lie? Let us look at another proclamation, issued on the 6th April 1549, "for the reformation of light horsemen." Here we read that the light horsemen retained in the Northern counties for the defence of the Borders had lost all sense of discipline. The captains cheated the King as to the number of their soldiers, getting unserviceable men to make a show on muster day, when a third of the force paid for was not ready. The soldiers, following the bad example of their captains, neglected to provide suitable horses and harness, and only half their number repaired to the accustomed places. Sometimes more than half returned home by small companies without leave, or, when an encounter with the enemy was imminent, they began to fly, betraying their comrades. If they remained to fight it was only in the hope of pillage, and they would pillage the King's friends, "the assured Scots," as much as the enemy.[1]

In spite of his military successes against the Scots, Somerset was rather a weak man—too weak, at least, for the times.[2] Sir John Hayward's judgment of him is rather paradoxical, that "he was a man little esteemed either for wisdom, or personage, or courage in arms." For in courage of that sort he was surely not deficient, and his exploits were merciless enough. Yet he was a man better at obeying orders than at striking out or pursuing a clear policy of government. He owed his position as Protector mainly to his near relationship to the King, and not a little to a compact between himself and Secretary Paget just before the death of Henry VIII.; so that when things were beginning to go wrong, Paget, then at Brussels, did not scruple to admonish him pretty freely. "Remember," he wrote to him, "what you promised me in the gallery of Westminster before the breath was out of the body of the King that dead is; remember what you promised immediately after devising with me

Paget's letter to Somerset.

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[1] *Proclamations of Edward VI.*, published 1550. See also Steele's *Royal Proclamations*, vol. i. No. 346. An Act of Parliament was passed against these abuses, 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. 2.

[2] His portrait in the National Portrait Gallery seems to me to exhibit a trace of weakness in the face.

concerning the place which you now occupy—I trust in the end to good purpose, howsoever things thwart now. And that was, to follow mine advice in all your proceedings more than any other man's. Which promise I wish your Grace had kept; for then I am sure that things had not gone altogether as they go now. . . . I told your Grace the truth and was not believed. Well, now your Grace seeth it. What seeth your Grace? Marry, the King's subjects out of all discipline, out of obedience, caring neither for Protector nor King, and much less for any other mean officer. And what is the cause? Your own lenity, your softness, your opinion to be good to the poor; the opinion of such as saith to your Grace, 'Oh, Sir! there was never man had the hearts of the poor as you have. Oh, the commons pray for you, Sir; they say, God save your life!' I know your gentle heart right well, and that your meaning is good and godly, howsoever some evil men list to prate here that you have some greater enterprise in your head that lean so much to the multitude. I know, I say, your good meaning and honest nature. But I say, Sir, it is great pity (as the common proverb goeth in a warm summer) that ever warm weather should do harm. It is pity that your too much gentleness should be an occasion of so great an evil as is now chanced in England by these rebels; and that, saving your Grace's honor, knaves say, as a knave Spaniard coming now very lately out of England, that he saw your Grace ride upon a fair goodly horse, but he stumbled. Marry, he was so strong and big made, he said, that he carried both your Grace and all the King's Council with you at once at a burthen upon his back. . . .

"Consider, I beseech you most humbly with all my heart, that Society in a realm doth consist and is maintained by means of religion and laws. And, these two, or one, wanting, farewell all just Society, farewell King, government, justice and all other virtue. And in come the commonalty, sensuality, iniquity, ravine, and all other kinds of vice and mischief. Look well whether you have either law or religion at home, and I fear you shall find neither. The use of the old religion is forbidden by a law, and the use of the new is not yet printed in the stomachs of the eleven of twelve parts in the realm, what countenance soever men make outwardly to please them in whom they see the power resteth. Now, Sir, for the law, where is it used in England at liberty? Almost nowhere. The foot taketh upon him the part of the head, and commons is become a King, appointing conditions and laws to the governors, saying, 'Grant this and that, and we will go home.' Alas! alas! that ever this day should be seen in this time. I would to God that at the first stir you had followed the matter hotly and caused justice to have been ministered in solemn fashion to the terror of others, and then to have granted a pardon. But to grant pardons out of course (I beseech your Grace bear with my zeal) they did ever as much good to the purpose which you meant as the Bishop of Rome's pardons were wont to do; which rather, upon hope of a pardon, gave men occasion and courage to sin than to amend their faults."[1]

That was the candid advice given by Paget to the Protector soon after the beginning of troubles in the summer of 1549. People were plucking down pales, hedges, and ditches, thereby giving dreadful offence to the lordly enclosers of common lands, and the Protector had actually issued a proclamation[2] to pardon those who were penitent! It was certainly not like Henry VIII.'s policy, or the traditions of wise government to pardon prematurely, whether the people had anything just to complain about or not.

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[1] *State Papers, Domestic, Edward VI.*, vol. viii. No. 4. The letter seems to be a copy made by or for Paget, dated 7th July 1549. It is printed entire, but with some inaccuracies, by Strype in *Eccl. Memorials*, vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 429. The copy in the Cottonian MS., Titus, F iii. 276, is not contemporary.

[2] Issued on the 14th June. Steele's *Royal Proclamations*, vol. i. No. 356.

Cranmer invites foreign divines to England.

As to religion, Somerset was guided by Cranmer, who, as we have seen, was seeking guidance himself from foreign Reformers, and asking them to come to England to aid in a religious settlement. The call was readily responded to, especially after the *Interim.* Bucer and Fagius arrived and wrote on the 26th April 1549, from Cranmer's hospitable abode at Lambeth, where they already found a goodly company of other refugees, that it was a grand time for promoting important reforms in England. Already doctrine and ritual had been established on a very satisfactory basis, but suitable ministers were wanted to give effect to the improved religion. "For," they write, "as is the case in France or Italy, so it is also in this country, that the pastors of the churches have hitherto confined their duties chiefly to ceremonies, and have very rarely preached and never catechised. Hence the people are labouring under a very great scarcity of teachers. But if the Lord be pleased to continue, as He has begun, the manifestations of His mercy in this Kingdom, that lack of persons to instruct the Lord's flock will shortly be supplied. For there are numerous and liberal stipends assigned to students in theology; for which reason very many young men apply themselves to sacred learning."[1]

Perhaps Bucer and Fagius would discover after a while that the numerous and liberal stipends were not all of them applied to such teaching as they themselves would have preferred. But of this by and by. They had reached England while a native Englishman, John Hooper, a quondam monk, who had married at Strassburg, and had been with Bullinger at Zurich, was on his way back to his own country. He arrived in London in May and very soon won the favour of the Protector, of whom he speaks as his patron.[1] Had he too been invited by Cranmer to come home? We cannot say. Great things were intended for him by and by, more than he had any desire for; but for the present he was content to be only Somerset's chaplain, and to assist, as we have seen, with William Latimer, a London clergyman, in giving that information against Bishop Bonner on which he was deprived. Poor Bonner, being a bishop, very naturally objected to being denounced and called into court by heretics whom it was his business rather to condemn. "As for this merchant, Latimer," he said, "I know him very well, and have borne with him, and winked at his doings a great while; but I have more to say to him hereafter. But as touching this other merchant, Hooper, I have not seen him before; howbeit I have heard much of his naughty preaching."[2] It was a little too much that this new Act of Parliament religion—or rather, this new Lollardy, countenanced by the secular rulers—should put the judges in the dock and accept evidence against them from men disaffected to legitimate authority in spiritual things. But a great revolution was in the air, affecting the minds of men, more or less, everywhere, as to the boundaries between spiritual and temporal rule. The power of the civil ruler was felt to be indisputable; in fact, it was divine, for as Scripture itself shows us, "the powers that be are ordained of God" (Rom. xiii. 1). And that the temporal ruler was responsible also for the religious condition of his kingdom was a proposition that Romanists themselves strongly maintained. So the question really was, how far the temporal ruler had a right to go, what counsel had he a right to take, and to what decisions had the individual Christian a right to submit. It is certain that the answers to these questions returned by

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[1] *Original Letters* (Parker Soc.), p. 535.

Bonner and his accusers.

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[1] *Original Letters* (Parker Soc.), p. 69.

[2] Foxe, v. 752.

different minds were very various; and from the first recognition of royal supremacy, even to the present hour, there has been nothing like a general agreement.

John Hooper, at least, was honest and fervent in the new position that he had taken up, inconveniently so for those who wished to use his services, as they afterwards discovered. But I forbear to say more about him here, as I purpose to speak of him more fully in a later chapter.

Bucer and Fagius.

Bucer and Fagius had some reason to speak of the liberal stipends assigned to the promotion of theology in England. "We foreigners," he wrote in April in that same letter from which an extract has been already given, "as far as we can learn, are to be incorporated in the university, and probably in that of Cambridge, since Peter Martyr is at Oxford." And so it was. "We are to go to Cambridge at Michaelmas," writes Bucer to Albert Hardenberg from London on the 14th August, "and there to begin to lecture somewhat in theology, if the Lord permit." And he adds further on: "It is fallow ground here, such as the devastation of Antichrist is wont to leave; for, as in Italy, very few sermons have been preached here, nor are they even now very frequent, neither is there any catechetical instruction whatever. For those who preside over the parishes are for the most part neither very learned nor zealous in matters appertaining to Christ's kingdom. Among the nobility and persons of rank there are many individuals endued with singular godliness and learning, but these are unable so speedily to supply the want of teachers. Meanwhile Satan is raising much disturbance, both from the common people and from France." This, of course, was at the time of the insurrections and the French attack on the Boulonnais.[1]

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[1] *Original Letters* (Parker Soc.), pp. 536, 539.

Both Bucer and Fagius went to Cambridge, where Fagius died on the 13th November; and Bucer, who outlived him scarce two and a half years, died there too, early in 1551. His health seems to have been delicate all along, and the English diet and mode of life did not suit him; but he had been made Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, a post held by Peter Martyr at Oxford.

Bucer and Fagius, however, were both Lutherans, and their sacramental doctrine was high. Not so was that of Peter Martyr, who had held a disputation at Oxford in May 1549, maintaining these three conclusions:—

1. "In the Sacrament of thanksgiving there is no transubstantiation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ."

2. "The body and blood of Christ be not carnally or corporally in the bread and wine, nor, as others use to say, under the kinds of bread and wine."

3. "The body and blood of Christ be united to bread and wine sacramentally."[1]

When this disputation was published by Peter Martyr himself a year later, Bucer expressed great regret.[2] So it did not altogether look as if the influx of foreign divines tended greatly to uniformity of opinion. Bucer, however, prevailed on him to insert passages in the preface more distinctly expressing his belief in the presence of Christ. The desire for union among Reformers was a ruling motive with Bucer at all times; but the attainment was always beset with difficulties. When driven from Strassburg he might have found refuge with Melancthon, Myconius, or Calvin, or in a professorship at Copenhagen. But England suited him better, and Cranmer was, on the whole, like-minded with himself. But in England too he found the same contest as abroad between principles incompatible with each other; and though he gladly aided Cranmer in a policy of conciliation the embers of strife were only buried for a while, to break out afterwards with the greater vehemence.

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[1] Foxe, vi. 298-9.

[2] *Original Letters*, p. 544.

Public morals.

It does not seem as if the Government of the Protector had done much for public morality. Writing to Bullinger from Strassburg on the 18th June 1548, Richard Hilles reports as follows :—

> The last news I have received from England is to this effect, namely, that some persons had presumed to marry a second wife while the first was living, but divorced, and even to have two wives at once. This liberty has been prohibited, as it ought to be, by a public proclamation of the King and Council. The Chancellor, too, as they call him, of the kingdom in a speech delivered in the King's name before the judges of the whole realm, warned them to take serious cognisance of the like offenders.[1]

And in January 1549 the same Richard Hilles, according to a letter received from him by his friend John Burcher, while looking hopefully for what he expected would be some improvement in religion, confessed that "in the meantime those very persons who wish to be, so to speak, the most evangelical, imitate carnal licentiousness under the pretext of religion and liberty. Every kind of vice, alas! is rife among them, and especially that of adultery and fornication, which, he tells me, they do not consider a sin. Unless this evil be corrected, we are undone."[2]

Calvin's letter to Somerset.

The news of the Protector's fall had not yet reached Geneva when, on the 22nd October,[3] Calvin, who had been watching from thence the progress of the Reformed Religion in England, wrote him a long letter of sympathy and advice. Put in a few brief words it was to this effect :—

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[1] *Original Letters*, p. 263. [2] *Ib.* p. 647.

[3] The date is "1548," but the year appears to me to be undoubtedly 1549, after the issue of the first Prayer Book and the commotions which followed. Collier also (*Eccl. Hist.* v. 363, Barham's edition) gives further evidence to the same effect. There is no date of year to the English translation of this letter in the *State Papers*, *Dom. Edw. VI.*, vol. v. No. 8.

"We have all occasion to thank God that He has made use of you in a work so excellent as the restoration of a pure rule in His service in England. But as Satan always stirs new conflicts, and men addicted to lying will not be governed, and the old rooted superstitions of Antichrist cannot easily be eradicated from men's hearts, I think you must need to be strengthened by holy exhortations, as, no doubt, you yourself feel. I am sure the great turmoils (*turbae illae ingentes*) you have had for some time past have been hard to bear—the more so as they have been moved partly on the pretext of a change in religion. The report of them from a distance has given me great anguish. If they be not appeased, or be renewed, you must remember how the good King Hezekiah, after he had abolished superstitions in Judæa, was so oppressed by his enemies that he seemed wholly lost. If most men resist the Gospel and try to stop its progress, we should not think it strange. And though the malice and sedition of men cause mutiny against the Gospel, yet we must look to ourselves and consider that through them God chastises our faults. It was an old complaint that the Gospel caused calamities, but when we are remiss Satan sows thorns which prick us. You have two kinds of mutineers, the one fantastic men who, under colour of the Gospel, would throw everything into confusion; the other, obstinate adherents to the superstitions of the Antichrist of Rome. Both deserve to be repressed by the sword, which is committed to you, seeing that they are against both God and the King. But the great thing is to get those who relish Gospel teaching to receive it with such humility as to deny themselves for the service of God.

"I beg you therefore, as one to whom the estate of your nephew is dear, to make it your principal care that the truth of God be preached effectually.

And I will put the matter under three heads:—first, the mode in which to teach the people; second, the extirpation of abuses; third, the correction of vice and prevention of scandals getting into vogue. As to the first, you have restored the purity of the faith. God's law is the only rule, and He will be served in the spirit. Our own souls are a whirlpool of iniquity, but we doubt not to find grace through the Passion of Christ, and become conquerors of Satan. I touch briefly on these points as I fear you have not much vivid preaching in your realm, but mostly such as is read. I see your difficulties in this, but the defect should be supplied. Preaching ought not to be dead, but fantastical spirits ought to be repressed. A summary of doctrine ought to be agreed on, which all the clergy should be sworn to follow. Have children instructed in a good catechism. As to the form of prayers and services of the Church, I quite approve that there should be such a thing, from which the pastors should not be allowed to depart in their functions, not only out of consideration for the simplicity and ignorance of some, but also that the agreement of all the churches among themselves may be manifest; and lastly to curb extravagance, as the Catechism itself should do. But you must not, for the sake of this politic order in the Church allow the native vigor of preaching to grow dull. Good preachers with sonorous voices are desirable, who will touch the hearts of their hearers.

"On the second head, we know that under the Pope is a bastard Christianity. St. Paul said to the Corinthians 'I have received of the Lord what I have delivered to you'; and we, too, must return to the simple commandment of God, and clear away all additions which turn us from that holy usage given us. To lop off abuses only in part will be ineffectual; for the seed of lies is fertile. Holy Scripture blames kings who having overthrown idolatries did not root them out. Be such a restorer of the Temple that your nephew's time may be compared to that of Josiah. Let me point out some corruptions. There is used among you a prayer for the dead at Communion. I know it is not to favor the Pope's purgatory, and that ancient custom may be alleged for making remembrance of the dead, to unite together all the members of the body. But the supper of Jesus is so holy an act that it ought not to be tainted with men's inventions. We must keep St. Paul's rule and be grounded on God's word merely. There are other things, perhaps less reprehensible, which nevertheless cannot be excused, such as the ceremonies of chrism and unction. Chrism is a vain invention of those who would not content themselves with Christ's institution. Extreme unction comes of the inconsiderate zeal of men who would follow the Apostles but have not their gift of healing. As the miracle has ceased, the figure of it should no longer be used.

"No doubt many have a fear of over great change and desire to cherish amity with their neighbours. But the spiritual world must be ordained according to the word of God. If we would not displease God we must not have regard to men. The power of God will be on our side if we follow simply what He tells us. I would not put aside prudence in the use of arguments, so as to gain the whole world for God if possible; but it should be prudence in which the Spirit rules, not the flesh, and which seeks guidance of God. If we so conduct ourselves it will be easy to cut off the handle to many temptations which might delay us in mid journey. So, my Lord, as you have begun to restore Christianity to its purity in England, not trusting in yourself but in God's support, doubt not that He will be with you to the end.

"I come now to the last article, the punishment of vice and suppression of scandals. No doubt you have good laws to promote honest living. But the great disorders I see throughout the world compel me to appeal to you in this also, to promote good discipline. Thefts, murders and rapine, no doubt are severely punished, because they injure men, while fornication, adultery, drunkenness are winked at. God will not leave such scandals unpunished. Is it not shameful to us Christians that the very heathen show themselves more in earnest to punish adultery than we, and that men even make such wickedness a joke? I beg you to hold the bridle tight, and make those who profess themselves Christians prove themselves to be so in truth by purity of life."

These were the words of a man of strong sincerity, whose position in the religious world was absolutely unique, and whose influence in after times, though decreasing as the centuries rolled by, has been absolutely unique also. Never did Pope in this world urge so strongly on secular princes the duty of obedience to Rome as Calvin did the duty of enforcing by authority the principles of a true Gospel. This letter of his, indeed, missed its immediate aim, for the person to whom it was addressed had ceased to be a ruler of men and of religion in England, even at the time that it was written. But it was doubtless perused by his successor Warwick, who gave full consideration to the matter in its political aspect—the only aspect which he greatly regarded. We must now, however, take notice of the immediate results in England of the Protector's fall.

It is evident from what we have already seen that during the Protectorate the Reforming party did not rely much for support on the spontaneous feeling of the people of England, but were seeking to staff the universities with foreigners full of anti-papal sentiment like themselves. Hence it was that the termination of the Protectorate was at first believed by many to be the natural prelude to a great religious reaction. Nor was there wanting some slight indication of this even in the imputations cast upon Somerset by the combined Lords in their letter to the two royal ladies, Mary and Elizabeth, written in defence of their own conduct the very day after they had proclaimed the Protector a traitor. In justification of themselves they represent their proceedings hitherto as entirely innocent. They had only urged upon the Protector counsels which he contemptuously rejected while national dangers were increasing, and they had done their utmost not to proceed to extremity.

The Lords write to Mary and Elizabeth about the Protector's conduct.

"But," they write, "we had not, a few of us, dined above twice together but immediately he took the Tower and raised the country about Hampton Court, bruiting and crying out that certain lords had determined to repair to the Court to destroy the King's Majesty, whom we pray to God on our knees to keep and make as old a king as ever was any of his progenitors. And when he had thus gathered the people and commons together at Hampton Court, then he brought his Majesty into the base-court there, and so after to the gate to them that were without; and after he had caused his Highness, good prince, to say, 'I pray you be good to us and our uncle,' then began he his oration; and among many his untrue and evil sayings, declared that one special cause of our displeasure to him was for that we would have him removed from his office, and that we minded to have your Grace [Mary] to be Regent of the Realm, and also to have the rule and government of the King's Majesty's person: dilating what danger it should be to his Majesty to have your Grace, next in succession and title to the Crown, to be in that place; and that therein was meant a great treason, which, as God knoweth, we never intended, considering all laws to provide touching government to the contrary; neither any of us all at any time, by word or writing hath opened any such matter to your Grace, as your honor knoweth; [and] concluded, like a most irreverent and unkind subject, that if we should attempt anything against him, the said Duke, 'here he is,' quoth he, pointing to the King's Majesty, 'that shall die before me!' Which was the most abominable saying that ever passed the mouth of a subject towards his Prince and Sovereign Lord."[1]

It is easy to see that the charges against the Protector are here aggravated to an extreme degree. Yet prudence, apparently, prevented them from being more highly coloured still; for the last sentence in this extract originally stood in the draft: "Concluding in the end, like an irreverent and unkind subject, that, or he would be destroyed, his Majesty should die before him. Oh, what abomination!" But, without committing our sympathies deeply to one side or other, we can always find in a party statement like this something that lets a little truth out of the bag. It was safe for Dudley and his friends to tell the King's sisters whether it was true or not that Somerset had accused them of wishing to make Mary Regent; for that was a position that Mary herself had not the faintest wish to hold, as she was entirely loyal to her brother, and, even when Queen, felt herself quite unequal to the responsibilities of government. So the statement was calculated to create a prejudice, even in her mind, as it naturally would in Elizabeth's also, against Somerset for attributing to his adversaries a policy which Mary herself would have detested. At the same time, party statements are never made unless they contain a degree of plausibility. What specious grounds were there for Somerset to have accused the confederate lords—if he really did accuse them—of any such design? Simply these, that the government of Somerset was unpopular, for religious or other reasons, with a large part of the community, and that if the heiress presumptive to the throne were admitted as Regent during the minority in place of the Protector, both religion and civil justice would receive better treatment. That a good many people felt this there is every reason to believe, and especially the many who were still so strongly attached to the old religion.

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[1] Tytler's *England under Edward VI. and Mary*, i. 249, 250. The extract has been corrected by the MS. in the Public Record Office.

Religious reaction expected on his fall.

And the mere deposition of the Protector, even without setting up any Regent at all, was certainly expected to herald a religious reaction—at least towards the state of matters which had existed under Henry VIII., and which alone was looked upon by many as constitutional, though to many others the Henrician religion now seemed little better than popery. To these last, of course, the prospect of such a reaction now was seriously alarming. "The Papists," wrote Hooper on the 7th November, "are hoping and earnestly struggling for their kingdom"; and he was afraid if Bishop Bonner, whom he had denounced, was restored to liberty, that he himself would be restored—so he put it—to his Father in Heaven.[1] Bonner and Gardiner, indeed, both hoped now for liberty and justice. The mass was actually revived at Oxford. The Earl of Southampton, who had been banished the Court ever since he had been deprived of the Lord Chancellorship, was in favour once more. He was lodged next the King with his Countess and his son, and suitors repaired to him in shoals. For a month or two it looked like a decided change of times.[2]

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[1] *Original Letters* (Parker Soc.), pp. 69, 70.

[2] A very graphic account of the change is given by Bishop Ponet in a work which he published in exile some years later, when he could speak about certain things a little more freely. It is thus he writes in his *Short Treatise of Politique Power*:—

"When Wriothesley, Arundel [*i.e.* Sir Thomas] and Southwell conspired with the ambitious and subtle Alcibiades of England, the Earl of Warwick, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, to pull the good Duke of Somerset, King Edward's uncle and Protector, out of his authority, and by forging a great meany of false letters and lies to make the Protector hated, brought to pass Warwick's purpose, who then, for a while, but they three? Wriothesley, that before was banished the Court, is lodged, with his wife and son, next

The distress of the Gospel-men at the late Protector's imprisonment is painfully described by Stumphius, a young man from Zurich, who came to England with Hooper and was sent by him to study at Oxford. "For the very Romanists," he writes a few months later when the alarm was over, "those cruel beasts, with which Oxford abounds, were now beginning to triumph about the ruin of our Duke, the death of our Gospel, now at its last gasp, and the restoration of their darling, the mass, as though they had already obtained a complete victory. They had begun to revive the celebration of their abominable Mass in their conventicles, to practise their ancient mummeries at funerals and other offices of that kind, and to inundate themselves all with wine, as became the champions of a religion such as theirs. And their furious rage had gone so far as to threaten, in their most shameless discourses, the faithful servants of Christ with exile, fire and sword, and all kinds of evil, unless they should gain wisdom by the extreme danger of this nobleman, and come back to their party. But oh! the audacious and insane act! For all the wisdom they had they wasted when they had nothing to oppose them, and completely betrayed to everyone their malicious disposition. For, contrary to all expectation, not only was the Duke set at liberty,

Revival of the Mass at Oxford.

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to the King. Every man repaireth to Wriothesley, honoureth Wriothesley, sueth unto Wriothesley as the Assyrians did to Haman, and all things be done by his advice, and who but Wriothesley? Arundel is promised to be next to the King, groom of his stole, or comptroller of his house at the least. Southwell, for his whisking and double diligence, must be a great Councillor in any wise. But what was the end? The Earl, as crafty as the best, seeing that his desire should not take place if these men might have that they hoped for, so handleth the matter that Wriothesley is fain in the night to get him out of the Court to his own house, where, upon narrow examination, fearing lest he should come to some open shameful end, he poisoned himself, or pined away for thought. Southwell is committed to the Fleet, where, being examined, he confessed enough to be hanged for, and had gone very near it, had not his examiners, upon hope of his amendment—breaking out of his eye, but not out of his heart, obtained the Earl's favor. And at the Earl's suit Arundel hath his head with the axe divided from the shoulders."

There seems to have been but one opinion of the craft and double dealing of Warwick, by which he usurped authority.

but religion was established by common assent of the whole Council."[1]

Somerset released.

Somerset, in fact, was released from the Tower on the 6th February 1550, and even before his release there were symptoms that things were not going the way that the Catholic party expected. But just after his arrest their expectations might have appeared reasonable enough. Indeed it was to them that his imprisonment was afterwards attributed, and the Gospellers considered that a great conspiracy was broken when he was liberated by the intercession of the Marquis of Dorset and Warwick with the King.[2] But Pole's warning as to the national dangers naturally resulting from schism and religious isolation had already received some justification in the Western insurrection, and it seemed at first not unwarrantable to expect that arbitrary government had met with a salutary check. But it is easier carrying on a revolution than going back; and the master spirit of the new government, John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, knew well enough what sort of religion would give him most support. In fact it is pretty certain that even from the first he never contemplated a religious reaction, for it must have been with his approval that the young King wrote on the 20th October to the Senate of Zurich, and probably on the same date to the Council of Berne, with a view to keep up the old confederacy with Protestant States abroad through his emissary Christopher Mont.[3]

It may seem strange, perhaps, that the royal supremacy of a boy like Edward VI. could do more to promote religious change than the tyranny of his strong-willed and clear-sighted father. It is very doubtful, indeed, whether Henry VIII. himself could ever have ventured to go so far, even in matters purely ecclesiastical, as the bold and reckless advisers of his son. That Henry, even after his breach with Rome, was always seeking to preserve a Catholic face towards Europe, while encouraging at home and in his own Court the grossest contempt of the doctrines that he himself had so speciously upheld by penal laws—this we have already seen. But already in the second year of his son's reign those high sacramental doctrines had been plainly repudiated by the Archbishop of Canterbury himself, and there was a general preaching against the Sacrament which was so resented that it led, as we have seen, to actual fighting inside St. Paul's every Sunday;[1] till at length a proclamation was issued forbidding preaching on either side till the Council should make further order on report of the bishops and divines who were then met at Chertsey. It would be seen then what sort of preaching might be allowed.

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[1] *Original Letters* (Parker Soc.), pp. 464-5. Cp. the Latin in *Epistolae Tigurinae*, p. 307.

[2] *Original Letters*, p. 399.

[3] *Ib.* pp. 1, 717-18.

That was the way a new religious settlement had been engineered under Somerset. But instead of being seriously checked at his fall, it was yet to go much further. Not that the people at large were anxious for a change; for to all appearance they were not so. Those regular Sunday fights in St. Paul's could not have taken place if the new religion which was being forced upon the people had been really acceptable. And yet the actual fighters could not have been those who felt matters most deeply. There were good reasons, indeed, why many who felt deeply should have avoided showing what they felt. The country, even during the last years of Henry VIII., had been burdened with the presence of foreign mercenaries, whose pay was a serious charge on an almost bankrupt exchequer. By their aid the Scottish Borders were defended, Calais and Boulogne garrisoned (though Boulogne was now about to be surrendered); and the people of England knew well enough that if they were unruly there were still enough of well-paid foreigners at command of the Government to keep them down. So on the whole the domestic problem was comparatively easy. But how was England safe from that foreign interference which Cardinal Pole expected, and indeed was himself willing to promote for the good of his own country?

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[1] See page 80.

Charles V. unable to interfere.

The truth is that the Emperor Charles V., who alone could have effected anything, was never in a worse position to interfere gratuitously in the affairs of other countries. Luther was dead about a year before Henry VIII.; but his death was very far from giving religious peace to Germany. On the contrary it occurred at the very moment of that supreme crisis which brought on the Schmalkaldic war. How that came about we cannot show in detail, but a reminder of prominent facts may be useful.

The Reformation in Germany.

That Germany was the first home of the Reformation was natural enough. Of all countries in Europe, none was so hard to bring under one uniform government, either in spiritual matters or in temporal; and when once papal authority was shaken in such a land of separate jurisdictions, long years of trouble were manifestly in prospect. But very few, not even Luther himself at first, counted on an actual and abiding schism. His attack upon indulgences, however, almost thirty years before the date we are now considering, kindled a fire which the Cardinal[1] commissioned to deal with it thought he could put out by simply requiring him to retract. Luther wanted a refutation of his errors first; but it was enough for the Cardinal that the indulgences were authorised by the Pope. Luther appealed to the Pope "better informed"; but afterwards, better informed or advised himself, to a future General Council. And the further progress of events made men talk of a

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[1] Cardinal Thomas de Vio, commonly called Cajetan as he was born near Gaeta.

General Council more and more. New controversies arose out of the first. Luther went on to question the divine authority of the papacy itself, and his prolific pen very naturally brought down upon him papal excommunication. Of what followed the reader requires little reminder—his appearance before the Diet of Worms; his disappearance after it, arranged by the friendly Elector of Saxony; his seclusion at the Wartburg, and so on. In the Wartburg he wrote on the abuses of the Mass and on monastic vows, and began translating the New Testament. He came back to Wittenburg really to restrain too great an opposition to old usages; and he found enough to do in that way. But the abuses of the papacy were still the chief matter of contention. Good honest Pope Adrian VI., who had just succeeded, admitted that the Church required reformation in head and members; but the movement under Luther, he considered, must be put down. Unfortunately Rome did not understand Germany, and Adrian was not the man to cope with the evils of the time. When his legate appeared before the Diet of Nuremberg in the winter of 1522-1523, the German princes replied with a complaint of the venality and corruption of papal administration in Germany and the many disgraceful practices connected with it, which they set forth in their celebrated manifesto of the *Centum Gravamina.*[1]

A few years later (1529) came the decree of the Diet of Spires, and the historical Protest from which the Protestants took their name. It was next year (1530) that they laid their Confession of Faith before the Emperor at Augsburg and formed the league of Schmalkalden.

Negotiations between them and the Catholics were necessary, and resulted in the pacification of Nuremberg in 1532. This accorded religious liberty to the

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[1] The text of which may be read in Brown's *Fasciculus*, i. 354 *sq.*

Protestants, who became from that day a power to be reckoned with—a power which an Emperor such as Charles V. could never understand. To him the Protestant princes were mere rebellious vassals, to be put down as soon as he could manage it. He felt, no doubt, as every one did, that religion was the only guarantee for order, either in Church or State; and he had no misgivings at all about old received theology. The Protestants, however, had got a sure footing, and they made the most of it. Moreover, they were not alone; for it generally suited France to encourage them as a means of weakening the Empire, and it also suited Henry VIII. to dangle before their eyes the prospect of an Evangelical alliance which would make them doubly strong. Fortified in this way they refused, as we have seen, to recognise the Council summoned to meet at Mantua. They repudiated also the jurisdiction of the Imperial "Chamber." There were conferences with them at Hagenau, at Worms, and at length at Ratisbon in 1541, where for a moment there really seemed some little hope of reuniting the Church in Germany—for agreement was actually found even on the great subject of Justification by faith. But a formula of agreement, of course, was of little value if it was liable to different interpretations. Even Luther was not satisfied, and a religious settlement apart from Pope and Council could not be taken as any settlement at all.

Need for a General Council.

The need of a Council was thus more felt than ever, and the Pope at length summoned one to meet at Trent in November 1542. But owing to the war between Francis I. and the Emperor, so few prelates came that nothing could be done, and a bull was issued for the suspension of the Council in the following July. In that year, 1543, there were strange things seen. The French disgusted even the Protestants of Germany by their shameless alliance with the Turk.

when the Turkish naval commander, Barbarossa, cooperated with a French land force in an attack on Nice. Yet to Pope Paul III. the alliance of France with the Turk seems to have been less objectionable than that of the Emperor with the excommunicated King of England; and when Barbarossa sailed round Italy on his way to Nice he spared the papal states out of consideration for the Pope's ally. True enough, as Clement VII. had found to his cost, the occupant of the See of Rome had much to dread from a sovereign like Charles V., who was supreme alike in the north of Italy and in Naples. But the situation was extraordinary, none the less. In 1544, while still at war with France, the Emperor bought the aid of his Protestant subjects against the Turk by promising them at the Diet of Spires "a general free Christian Council," and undertaking, if there were any obstacle to its meeting, to commit the whole question of religion in Germany to a German Diet next year.[1]

Religion must consider nationality.

Thus was even Charles V., of all the sovereigns of Europe the most utterly opposed to new-fangled doctrines and heresy, driven to foreshadow a policy which tended no less than the despotism of Henry VIII. to what we call in England the State Church principle. It was a policy which Catholic opinion could not possibly approve, and the way in which it was approached did not tend to conciliate Catholic feeling. What! Negotiate with heretics and attempt to settle matters of religion in Germany by a Diet, apart from the Holy See? Paul III. rebuked the Emperor in a very grave tone. He was warned, he said, by the example of Eli the priest not to treat lightly the violation of sacred principles by a disobedient son. The poor Emperor could only plead that it was not his fault—he had made a virtue of necessity; and the Pope himself, no doubt, was conscious of the fact.[1] No one could have done more than Charles, in his own way, to prevent disunion in Christendom and support the authority of the Holy See; and he protested that if every other prince had done as much, the evils so greatly regretted would never have attained such magnitude.

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[1] Ranke's *Deutsche Geschichte*, iv. 240-42. Maurenbrecher's *Karl V. und die deutschen Protestanten*, p. 61.

The Emperor's pledge, in truth, had to be redeemed, and the Pope himself must help him in some measure to redeem it. In September of that same year 1544, within a month after the Pope's rebuke to the Emperor, the peace of Crépy between the Emperor and Francis at length opened the way for the proposed General Council, which was again summoned to meet at Trent in March 1545. But though three distinguished legates, Cardinals Monte, Cervini, and Pole, were appointed to open it, and the two former actually arrived at the place, business could not even then be begun. Everything, indeed, was in a state of unreadiness. No order of procedure had been laid down, and many preliminary matters had to be referred to Rome. But what arrested proceedings more than anything was, that while the great object was to settle the religious controversies in Germany, that very subject was at the same time occupying the attention of a Diet in Germany itself, and the Protestants were as determined as ever not to acknowledge any Council summoned by the Pope.

Futile attempt to begin proceedings at Trent.

In view of the Emperor's promise, when the Diet of Spires ended its sitting in June 1544, another Diet had been at once appointed to meet at Worms on the 1st October following; but it only began on the 15th December.[2] The Emperor had fully intended presiding, but was laid up in the Low Countries by his inveterate enemy the gout, and was obliged ultimately to send Granvelle in his place. His brother Ferdi-

Diets in Germany,

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[1] See the Pope's brief in Raynaldus, xxxiii. 70; comp. Pallavicino, lib. v. capp. 6, 7.

[2] *L. P.* XIX. ii. 784.

nand, King of the Romans, afterwards arrived in March 1545 and conducted the proceedings. But the main result was that, in opposition to the Protestants, all matters of religion were referred to the Council then sitting (or, one might say, trying to sit), at Trent.[1] Something more, however, had to be done, even on this subject, and the Emperor at length arrived at Worms on the 16th May. Two days later the Pope's grandson, Cardinal Farnese, came to him from Trent, bringing an aid of 100,000 ducats from the Pope to the Emperor for his Turkish war, with the promise of more to come, to make him independent, if possible, of the contributions of the Diet. Deep consultations then ensued, not only with the Emperor and his ministers, but with King Ferdinand also, with the result that if the Protestants could not be brought to acknowledge and obey the Council, war against them was no longer to be avoided.[2]

and papal aid to the Emperor.

Meanwhile at Trent,[3] though bishops and clergy did arrive, the Council seemed no nearer making a commencement. To begin without the consent of Christian princes generally would impair its authority and only strengthen schism. The Emperor himself was against its being opened prematurely, while the Lutherans obstinately refused to acknowledge it. Cardinal Cervini was for a while unwell; provision had to be made for the maintenance of bishops absent from their sees; suggestions were even put forward in the Council itself for transferring it to Italy—a thing which would have completely thwarted the whole object of the Emperor in procuring its assembly. But even if it remained at Trent, the state of matters was uncomfortable. The Emperor wished to lull the suspicions of the Protestants until he was ready to crush them. But indefinite delay would have been injurious to the authority of the Holy See.

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[1] *L. P.* xx. i. 486.

[2] *L. P.* xx. i. 805-8; Maurenbrecher, *Karl V. und die deutschen Protestanten*, p. 64.

[3] Where I do not cite other authorities in this chapter the facts relating to the progress of the Council of Trent are derived from Mendham, and can easily be verified.

Some worldly policy was necessary to smooth matters. In July more definite arrangements were made between the Pope and the Emperor. The Pope promised to set in the field an army of 12,000 foot and 500 horse, with 300,000 ducats of gold to be levied on the spiritual taxation of Spain.[1] But of course all this would take time to realise, and there were many hindrances; so active operations against the Protestants must be deferred till the beginning of next year. In August things did not look so well. Some years before, the Emperor, to abate the natural jealousy with which the Pope viewed his power as a supreme ruler alike in the north and south of Italy, had consented to the marriage of his bastard daughter Margaret, widow of the murdered Alexander de Medici, duke of Florence, with Ottavio Farnese, the Pope's grandson. At the same time the Pope's son, Pierluigi Farnese, father of the bridegroom, a dissolute soldier, was flattered with hopes of an Italian dukedom—perhaps even that of Milan, which, of course, would have secured him all the more firmly in the Emperor's interest to keep the French out of Italy. The hope, however, had been only dangled before the eyes of the ambitious Pierluigi, who received nothing from the Emperor, and whom the Pope himself had to gratify with the title of Duke of Castro. And now in August the Pope used his personal influence in the Consistory to endow him with the duchies of Parma and Piacenza, the sovereignty of which was a disputed claim between the Emperor and the Holy See. Charles himself, however, winked at the transaction, though he would have preferred considerably the endowment of Pierluigi's second son

The Farnese Alliance.

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[1] *Spanish Calendar*, viii. No. 99. See also Maurenbrecher, on whom I generally rely for what was done in Germany. Where I know his statements to have been challenged I have tried to avoid matter of controversy.

and his own daughter to that of Pierluigi himself. Elsewhere the thing was universally disapproved.

The Council opens at Trent.

At last the Council was actually opened on the 13th December 1545, there being present, besides the three legates, four archbishops, twenty bishops, five generals of religious orders, and the ambassadors of Ferdinand, King of the Romans. Some authorities give a slightly larger number of bishops—there were certainly twenty-seven at the third session, and two more cardinals. The causes for which the Council was summoned were declared to be: first, the extirpation of heresy; second, the restoration of discipline in the Church; and third, peace in Christendom. For heresy had grown up by the neglect of the clergy; the general corruption of morals required no demonstration, and the punishments which had ensued were obvious—war from without, moved by the Turk, and from within among Christians themselves. The second session was then fixed for the morrow of the Epiphany, 7th January 1546. Meanwhile, the legates required further instructions from Rome upon many points, among which the chief were whether to begin the business by discussing heresies, and if so, whether first to attack heresies in general or particular heresies; whether, when the subject of a reformation of discipline was started, doctrine should be considered along with it. And what was to be done if it was proposed to begin with the Court of Rome, as all the world was clamouring after "this blessed reformation"? There were further questions also as to how the Council should be announced to the different sovereigns, and other matters of form. But—this was added in a postscript to their letter—they required direction if any proposal were made to take votes by nations as at Constance, or if the old question were raised whether the Council were above the Pope or the Pope above the Council.

In fact the legates required instructions on many things to put matters on a business footing at all; and this necessity made it, from the very beginning, essentially a papal Council, which would never have satisfied the Germans. It is true, even this Council, moved by the apparent necessity of the case, did some things without consulting the Pope, and one very significant thing, as we shall see presently, which his Holiness strongly disapproved, but felt it necessary to condone. None the less it was a papal Council, in which the presiding legates continually referred to Rome for instructions about procedure. Their private correspondence, indeed, is not a little interesting, as showing, among other things, how even at the first they had granted indulgences by their own authority in the Pope's name, which they requested his Holiness to ratify; and how, though they themselves wished to begin with matters of faith, the majority would fain begin with reformation of discipline, as heresies arose mainly from abuses and transgression of laws. This was serious, for reformation was certainly one subject laid down, and they must not incur the odium of seeming to oppose it.

Essentially a papal Council.

But even the formal matters were of very high importance; for the questions how the Council should be announced to the different sovereigns, and what should be its form or seal, suggested the still higher question—the great constitutional question, in fact, which had never been fully settled yet—whether a General Council was above the Pope, or the Pope above the Council. Practically, as we have seen already,[1] General Councils had been fighting a losing battle with the Popes; but they had not quite given up the game even yet. For, if ever it were once fairly settled that a General Council derived all its authority whatever from the Holy See, the function of General Councils was manifestly at an end. The occupant of St. Peter's chair could take what advice he liked, and it would be no great step, even to make further definitions of doctrine *ex cathedrâ*, which, as it came to be admitted three hundred years later, lies clearly within his power. So this Council, papal though it was, and many of its members only able to attend by being subsidised from Rome, had naturally some little thought about the nature of its own authority; and nearly all wished to emphasise this by adding to the words "general and ecumenical" in the style by which it described itself the further words, "representing the Universal Church." But they were overruled by the legates on the ground that the words were redundant and had never been used in the ancient Councils. They had been made use of, indeed, by the Councils of Constance and of Basel; but there were special reasons for adopting them at Constance, and the Council of Basel was a bad example, as that Council had ended in schism. Moreover, the words would give unnecessary offence, even at the outset, to the German Protestants.[1] The suggestion, nevertheless, was repeatedly revived during the progress of the Council.

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[1] See Book I. Ch. ii.

The mode of voting, also, was a most important matter, whether votes were to be taken by nations, as at Constance and Basel, and whether proxies were to be allowed. The reply from Rome on both of these subjects was announced at the second session, held on the 7th January 1546, as appointed. Votes were not to be taken by nations, and absent bishops were not to vote by proxies. Before another session was held there were several congregations, and much communication was had with Rome. The legates wished the Pope to send ten or twelve trustworthy prelates to the Council to counteract the votes of the "ultramontanes," especially from Spain, among whom, though the fact might be doubted, six or eight were secretly reported to be Lutherans. The question about order of subjects came up in three successive congregations — Should doctrine or discipline come first, or should both be taken together? At last it was settled that doctrine and reformation of discipline should proceed simultaneously. One great argument, it seems, for not postponing doctrine was that if the Council made no progress, that subject, and the reform of abuses also, might be taken out of their hands and settled by a Diet in Germany. The Pope, however, was extremely displeased with their resolution, which was much complained of at Rome, and wished them to confine themselves to dogma. Nevertheless, he would not ask them to rescind their vote, but desired them not to include the Curia in their reforms. The third session was held on the 4th February, but no further advance was made than solemnly to declare the Faith in terms of the Nicene Creed, a fuller attendance of bishops being expected at the next session, which had been arranged for Thursday after the fourth Sunday in Lent, *i.e.* the 8th April.

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[1] Waterworth's *Council of Trent*, pp. lxxvi. lxxvii.

Meanwhile, on the 18th February, Luther had died at Eisleben; but Lutheranism was rapidly on the increase in Germany. The Elector Palatine, Frederic II., who had only succeeded to that dignity two years before, was on the point of joining openly the Schmalkaldic league. The Archbishop of Cologne, Hermann von Wied, another of the Electors, had done even more; for he had actually made, by his archiepiscopal authority, a reformation on Lutheran lines within his diocese, which brought him into collision with his own chapter. And this was all the more serious, because it led the Emperor himself to interfere in spiritual things by inhibiting the archbishop to make changes and citing him to appear before himself at Brussels.[1]

The Emperor's difficulties.

The poor Emperor had a hard time of it. The problem of governing so many kingdoms in Europe was most perplexing, and some years later he gave it up as hopeless. But the discords in Germany were past endurance, and it is evident enough why to him a Council was of infinitely more importance than it was to any other sovereign. Such insubordination as that of the German princes could only be curbed by an authority that the whole Church was bound to recognise; and he was resolved that even the Protestants now should recognise it at last. He and the Pope, as we have seen, were agreed upon ulterior measures. But unluckily their immediate objects were entirely different, and, indeed, quite opposed to each other. For the Pope, as we have seen, was anxious that the Council should consider dogma first, while to Charles the great matter was discipline. To him new definitions of dogma seemed entirely unnecessary; but to put an end to the crying complaints of the Church's discipline would strengthen his hands against unruly subjects, to whom he thought he had made every possible concession by procuring a General Council to sit within the bounds of Germany.

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[1] *L. P.* xx. ii. 384, 526, 528, 628, 1063.

A Diet had been appointed at Ratisbon in the hope of at length obtaining the acquiescence even of the Lutherans to this Council; but, long before the Emperor reached the place, they had withdrawn from the previous colloquy, distrusting alike him and the Pope. Strange to say, the Pope himself was delighted at the failure of this Diet, and hoped it might lead to the failure of the Council also! Both the Council and the Emperor, however, were making better progress than he looked for.

Beginnings of the Council.

The Fathers at Trent were at length entering on serious business. They were relieved that the Pope did not ask them to recall their resolution to proceed simultaneously with doctrine and reformation, but they postponed acting upon it till the session after next. They were now going to establish doctrine; and first of all it was necessary to determine the books of Scripture which should be considered canonical. For it was not merely the traditions of the Church that were impugned by heretics. The authority of some of the books themselves had been called in question by Luther and his disciples; and even among the faithful questions had been raised about the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews. In this fourth session, accordingly, the Council set forth the list of the canonical books of Scripture, approved the old Vulgate edition, and forbade presumptuous interpretations at variance with the sense of the Church. By the correspondence of the Legates it would appear that they purposely, and no doubt wisely, avoided any attempt to distinguish degrees of authority in the books of the Old Testament or in the deutero-canonical writings. We also find that in the congregations the Cardinal of Trent (Madruzzi) was in favour of vernacular translations, and feared that if they were prohibited in Germany it would occasion much scandal. But it was agreed that nothing should be said about vernacular translations in the decree. Church traditions were more important to the Council, and they were recognised in the preamble to the decree, which declares that all saving truth and discipline are contained in the books of Scripture and in "the unwritten traditions, which, received by the Apostles from the mouth of Christ himself, or of the Apostles themselves, the Holy Ghost dictating, have come down even unto us, transmitted, as it were, from hand to hand."

The date of the next session (the fifth) was fixed for Thursday after Pentecost, *i.e.* the 17th June, which allowed plenty of time for preparation. A decree was that day passed on Original Sin, its complete remission by baptism, and so forth, with a remarkably guarded statement in the end that the Council did not mean to include in that decree the immaculate Virgin Mary.[1] Then followed a decree

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[1] The words as originally drafted were: "As regards the Blessed Virgin,

"on reformation," for the institution of lectureships to expound Scripture, and requiring bishops to preach in person or appoint competent preachers in their stead.

This last sitting of the Council was held in that same month of June when in England poor Anne Askew was tried and sentenced and tortured, prior to her being burned in July. The reader will thus understand the better what has been already pointed out—how the political importance of Orthodoxy, even in England, had risen with the fact that a General Council, much mocked at at first by some, had by this time made such progress, and appeared well on its way to make positive definitions of doctrine. But there was now some months' pause, and the Council did not sit again that year, though the congregations were busy all the time preparing a very important decree to be passed at their next session. Meanwhile, there were momentous things taking place in Germany which affected at one time the security of the Council itself.

Political results of the fact that the Council had really begun.

The failure of the Diet at Ratisbon was nothing to occasion surprise. The German princes on either side could not trust each other. In the year immediately preceding (1545) Duke Henry of Brunswick, the chief Catholic prince in the North, who had been deprived of his duchy by the Elector of Saxony, endeavoured to recover it, and was taken prisoner. The conditions of conference laid down for them at Ratisbon did not satisfy the Protestants, and the Emperor's preparations against them were a little too manifest. They broke away from the Diet, then took up arms, and were put to the ban of the Empire. Their armies entered the Tyrol while the congregations

Germany.

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the Council does not intend to define anything; although it is piously believed that she was conceived without original sin." Opinion was divided on the subject then, and a strong minority, including the Dominicans, took exception to the words, as to say that one view was "piously" held seemed an indirect condemnation of the opposite view.

of the Council were sitting at Trent. Execution of the sentence against them was committed to Duke Maurice of Saxony, the Elector's cousin, who, though he had promised to defend the territories of the Confederates, invaded them while the Emperor was gaining victories in Swabia. Notwithstanding the strong feeling of the German people against Pope and Emperor alike, the Protestant cause had sunk very low at the beginning of the year 1547. The Elector, indeed, not only recovered his lands, but laid siege to Leipzig; but after three weeks' furious bombardment he was obliged to retire. The Emperor had already made Maurice Elector in his place. So matters stood in Germany when young King Edward VI. succeeded his father Henry VIII. in England; and the misfortunes of the Protestants were completed on the 24th April following at the battle of Mühlberg, where the quondam Elector of Saxony was taken prisoner. The Landgrave Philip of Hesse soon afterwards found it necessary to submit also.

The battle of Mühlberg.

Now let us return to Trent, where the Fathers reassembled for their sixth session on the 13th January 1547. Original sin having been disposed of at the last sitting, the critical subject now to be decided was Justification—and this at a time when Protestantism in Germany had already met with overwhelming defeat at the hands of the Emperor's forces—Justification, the leading doctrine of Luther, on which he had taken so firm a stand, fortified by the authority of St. Paul. A thorny subject to handle, and one which had not been brought before any General Council hitherto; and yet the Germans, who upheld Luther's view, were not present to defend it, as they would not recognise a Council called by the Pope at all. Luther's teaching, however, had many sympathisers, even among those who had not fallen off from Rome. Contarini, the legate to the German Diet of 1541, had shown himself on this point not a little

"Justification" at Trent.

favourable to the Protestant view. He was now dead, but there were other Italians, even in this Council, of whom the same might be said. Nay, Pole himself, though he was now no longer at the Council (having been obliged by ill-health to withdraw from Trent in June), held views in this matter not wholly unlike those of Luther and Melancthon.[1] The great doctrine of St. Paul and St. Augustine had, in fact, wakened up again from the sleep of ages; and a determination upon it was expected from an assembly of bishops, mainly Spanish and Italian (fifty-seven was the number at the decisive sitting), met together in a small city in the Tyrol, while Germany was still convulsed with civil war.

"The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh and whither it goeth." Such is the work of the Spirit in all ages. The most worldly men saw the danger, though they cared not about theology. The Emperor was wise in his generation, and would have kept the Council from discussing dogma till he was able to drive the Lutherans by force to appear among them. The French, on the other hand, were particularly anxious that Justification should be defined, just because they knew well enough that the decision was likely to keep alive disaffection to the Emperor in Germany.[2] And what shall we say of the Pope himself? His policy, too, as we have seen, was always that the Council should define dogma first of all, and there is no doubt whatever that the condemnation of Lutheran doctrine in this cardinal point was specially agreeable to him, even for political reasons.

The Council had felt truly enough that the question was momentous, and the congregations, as I have already said, had been carefully considering the

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[1] *A Treatise of Justification*, by Pole, was published in 1569, from his posthumous papers. When it was written does not appear.

[2] *Spanish Calendar*, viii. p. 504.

Stormy debates in the Council.

subject ever since the last session in June. They had had stormy debates among themselves, personal reproach for ignorance by one bishop against another being answered on one occasion by personal assault. Nay, there had been violent altercations between Cardinal del Monte, the President, and two other cardinals, and suggestions were privately made to the Pope to remove the Council from Trent as a place which was neither free nor safe. On the 27th October, Pole, not having recovered his health even at Padua, resigned his legation, and, by the Pope's leave, returned to Rome. On the 16th November, Cardinal Farnese, lately returned from Germany, writes to the Pope, his grandfather, how, in order to understand their proceedings, he had assembled the two legates with the Cardinal of Trent and Don Diego de Mendoza, the Emperor's special envoy to the Council, and, finding the decree on Justification nearly ready, had urged that it should be postponed for reference to universities. That suggestion had been already made by Cardinal Pacheco in congregation, where it was received with very natural indignation as derogatory to the authority of the Council. Yet arguments for delay were weighty. Publication of the decree would certainly not have a healing effect, seeing that the Council was called principally on account of the heresies of Germany, and not one divine of that nation was present to discuss the matter; moreover, the Emperor was putting down the Lutherans at that very time by war and not by argument. But how could the Council stultify itself by not passing a decree at all after half a year's deliberation? All the world was looking to it for guidance in matters necessary to salvation. Here was a perplexing question, whatever decision was come to. And this small deliberative company of five came to the conclusion that the less objectionable alternative was to settle the decree, but postpone its publication for a while.

Another rather inconvenient question which would have to be decided at the coming session was the decree "on reformation," which was to accompany the decree on faith; and the subject of reformation was already settled—the residence of bishops. On this matter, too, the same policy was suggested, and if the translation of the Council could not be effected, its suspension for six months was recommended. Events, however, were too strong for hesitating policies. Some draft of the proposed decree on Justification—not the form of decree ultimately adopted—had got into Protestant hands, and was actually published in Germany with severe comments before the end of the year 1546; which made it all the more necessary to publish the true decree to counteract the effect of the false. And so, on that 13th January 1547, was the great decree on Justification passed, which was immediately published, and with it the decree for residence of the clergy, and forbidding bishops to exercise their functions in any dioceses but their own. Thus the Lutheran doctrine was condemned in the Council at the very time when Lutheranism had been practically put down in Germany by the victorious arms of the Emperor.

Change of attitude in the Pope towards the Emperor.

But a very strange thing was immediately apparent. The opposite policies of the Pope and the Emperor actually made his Holiness the best friend that the Protestants could have. For just at this time, when it appeared that the Emperor was in the fair way to become complete master of Germany, the Pope withdrew the troops and subsidies he had sent to aid in putting down the heretics. It seemed as if Paul III., a notorious trimmer all his days, whose interest, no doubt, was to maintain a balance of power in Europe, had somehow managed to back out of his engagements. This was not strictly the case, for the capitulation expired at the end of the year 1546, and the Pope only declined to renew it. But his agreement with the Emperor had been hollow from the first, and he withdrew himself from entangling obligations as soon as he conveniently could. Family considerations, no doubt, and Pierluigi's disappointment of a dukedom at the Emperor's hands added bitterness to a growing estrangement. But the European situation was changing. France had made peace with England in June, and was at her old tricks again, encouraging the downcast Protestants. She was intriguing also in Genoa, where, with her encouragement and Pierluigi's, the abortive conspiracy of the Fieschi broke out in this month of January. That the Pope himself was implicated in this does not appear, but as he cooled towards the Emperor he was certainly getting more and more cordial with France.

Nor did he show himself at all anxious for the Emperor's success, even in putting down the Lutherans. At the end of 1546 we find him inculcating on the Imperial Ambassador at Rome the great desirability of his master making peace with his enemies. He and the ambassador had had many disputes about the stipulated aid, till he withheld it altogether. He himself said he had always desired peace, which the Emperor would find more necessary now than ever; for the Turks were arming, and the French King was only too likely to join the Lutherans against him.[1] He did not add, as to his own position in the matter, that the papal treasury could not well stand the double strain of a Council at Trent and a war in Germany. But this we know was a pretext alleged in his behalf elsewhere with something more than plausibility. And in fact his efforts were now bent, not only on controlling the Emperor, but even on removing or suspending the Council.

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[1] *Spanish Calendar*, viii. pp. 539, 540.

The Council, however, for the present was proceeding, and, having settled Justification, was just about to enter on the great subject of the Sacraments. At its seventh session, on the 3rd March, canons were laid down, both touching sacraments in general, and specially touching baptism and confirmation, with further decrees "on reformation." Only eight days later, on the 11th March, was held the eighth session, at which nothing was done but to pass a decree in accordance with a papal bull which empowered the legates to remove the Council on the ground that there was danger to the health of those attending, a number of whom had already withdrawn just after the last session, and the 21st April having been appointed as the day for the next session, Bologna was arranged to be the place of meeting. But the alarm about the health of those attending was declared to be unreal. One bishop had died, and suggestions had been raised of an infectious disease. The Imperialists protested against the transference, and thirteen of them insisted on remaining at Trent; indeed, on inquiry, the alarm of contagion did look rather like a mere pretence. Nevertheless, the rest departed with the legates to Bologna, where they arrived on the 20th March; but on the day appointed for the ninth session (21st April), it was declared that the numbers were so small that it was inadvisable to proceed. Many of the Fathers who had been serving their own churches in Passiontide and at Easter had not yet returned, and the Synod was prorogued to Thursday within the octave of Pentecost—that is to say, to the 2nd June, when the tenth session was held. But even then, although an ambassador had come from Henry II., the new King of France, and some French bishops also, a new prorogation was found necessary, and it might have been foreseen that a suspension of the Council was at hand.

Removal of the Council to Bologna.

Was it wonderful that the Emperor was provoked extremely? The failure of aid from papal troops, and even from papal subsidies, would not have grieved him much. The ill discipline and bad pay of the troops made them almost worse than useless. But the translation of the Council stultified his whole policy. It was really at his instigation solely that it had been summoned, and he had desired it particularly to lighten his task in Germany. He was making war with the Lutherans for no other end than to compel them to go to it, and to remove one chief objection to it in their eyes he had got the place fixed within the limits of Germany. Yet now it was transferred to Bologna within the papal states! He might conquer Lutherans in the field, but to expect them to recognise a Council in papal territory, when he himself had promised them a free Council in Germany, was simply out of the question. He insisted that the Council must be brought back to Trent, for he himself would not recognise anything done at Bologna.

He had been grieved enough at Pope Paul's secret communications with France, and had told the papal ambassador, with a bitter double meaning, that he knew very well all about his Holiness's French malady. But Francis I. died just after the translation of the Council to Bologna, and a change came over the situation. For the new King of France, Henry II., recalled to Court the disgraced minister, Montmorency, who had of old sought a good understanding with the Emperor; and for several months of the new reign, until the Guises recovered their ascendancy, there was little hope that the French would continue their anti-Imperial policy. So the Pope felt it all the more necessary to deal gently with the Sovereign of whose power he was so much afraid. And the Emperor, for his part, whatever personal grievance he might feel against the occupant of the Holy See, was always anxious to avoid a breach with the spiritual head of Christendom.

To the Pope, at this time, the recovery of England to the Faith seemed naturally the most important object—far more important than that of Germany, where the Sovereign could be depended on to maintain old Church authority. He had determined, even before the death of Francis I., on sending three legates, one to Germany, one to France, and one to England, to assist in the great object. To the Emperor in Germany he sent Cardinal Sfondrato, to France Cardinal Capo di Ferro, while to England he intended to send Cardinal Pole, though the nomination was reserved *in petto*. After the death of Francis, the two legates who had been actually named received renewed instructions, as it was now more hopeful to promote cordial relations between the Emperor and the new King of France, which would aid greatly to get the Council out of the existing standstill.[1] And possibly both these Sovereigns might be able to influence the new Government in England, though, in the present temper of the Emperor, the prospect of his bestirring himself in that matter for the Pope's sake must have been more than doubtful.

The Emperor refuses to make war on England for the Pope.

In fact he had already replied on this subject in terms sufficiently emphatic. Writing to Don Diego de Mendoza on the 17th March he expressed himself as follows: "Not only will we not take up arms against that King for the sake of his Holiness, but we will not do it against the worst man alive, as we see his ways of going on (*sus andamientos*), and that having persuaded us to undertake this enterprise he left us thus at such a time."[2] But if the appeal to the Emperor was futile, it was not likely that France single-handed would venture to make England her enemy[3]; and as a matter of fact, it appears that both the Emperor and Henry II. were anxious for politic reasons to cultivate good relations with the new government of that country; which was therefore in no such danger as Pole at that time supposed. The thoughts of practical statesmen were occupied with other questions.

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[1] Pallavicino, bk. ix., ch. 18.

[2] Maynier's *Étude historique sur le Concile de Trente*, p. 457.

[3] See Druffel's "Die Sendung des Cardinals Sfondrato an den Hof Karls V.," p. 313, in *Abhandlungen der Historischen Classe der Königlich. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Bd. xx. (1893).

At Viterbo, on his way to Germany, Cardinal Sfondrato met Don Diego de Mendoza, the Emperor's ambassador to the Holy See, a man of remarkable insight in political affairs, both civil and ecclesiastical, and the two diplomatists endeavoured to ascertain between them the possibility of some solution of the points in dispute between their masters. One thing was felt on both sides as of the first importance, that nothing should be done at Bologna to make matters worse. Business there, accordingly, came to a standstill. But neither Sfondrato's mission to the Emperor, nor Mendoza's to the Pope, was successful in bringing about better relations between them. The Emperor insisted absolutely on the return of the Council to Trent, maintaining that the translation was altogether unjustifiable, while the Pope found himself quite unable to retrace his steps, or agree to any compromise which did not recognise what had been already done. The differences between the two potentates were embittered by personal grievances, and the Emperor could not forgive the participation of the Farnesi in the conspiracy of the Fieschi at Genoa. The ministers of both Powers, Granvelle and Sfondrato, were alike anxious that some compromise should be arrived at, but the terms of such an understanding could not be found. There was, however, to be a Diet in Germany, and till that Diet had met, the Court at Rome was not anxious to commit itself. The Council at Bologna was prorogued, and seemed likely to be prorogued indefinitely, for even at Rome the opinion prevailed that the first step towards a settlement must be the reduction of the German heretics.

"The Armed Diet" at Augsburg.

The Diet met, and was opened by the Emperor himself at Augsburg on the 1st September. It was called "the Armed Diet," as he was attended thither by some of his victorious troops. And here he certainly had an advantage over the Pope, for if the Pope had thwarted his plans in the moment of victory, he himself, in spite of this discouragement, had completely humbled the Protestant princes, and could call upon them, not altogether ineffectually, to support his remonstrances with the Holy See against the removal of the Council. German feeling was with him here, and the prelates at the Diet wrote to the Pope as he desired. They said that they saw no other remedy for the dangerous state of Germany than the recall of the Council to Trent, or to some place within German territory. As for the German princes, they were less able now to insist that the Council should be independent of the Pope. The towns were rather more troublesome. But, in the end, the Diet entrusted its cause to the Emperor, who pledged himself to secure a fair hearing to the Lutherans.

Murder of Pierluigi Farnese.

But in less than a fortnight after this Diet had opened in Germany a most serious thing had taken place in Northern Italy. The adjourned sitting of the Council at Bologna was to have taken place on the 15th September. On the 10th, the Pope's son, Pierluigi Farnese, created by his father Duke of Parma and Piacenza, though he could not obtain investiture from the Emperor, was murdered in his own palace at Piacenza, and Imperial troops took possession of the Duchy. The Imperial troops, indeed, had begun the business, for they were under the command of Gonzaga, Governor of Milan, and the Emperor had fully authorised their employment in order effectually to drive Pierluigi out of the duchy of Piacenza; but his assassination was due to the hatred of the nobles whom he was building a fortress to overawe. It was a frightful blow to Paul III., both in his private feelings and in the overthrow of his worldly policy. But these things, of course, did not affect the Council. What did affect it was the crime, which, bad as is the argument from violence, showed clearly that another sitting in the papal states ought by no means to take place, at least until quieter times. So, a special congregation being summoned on the 14th, the session which had been arranged for the day following was prorogued during the pleasure of the Council. Congregations continued to be held, but no further session was held at Bologna, nor at Trent either, for nearly four years after.

Violence is decidedly a bad argument in spiritual matters, and so it was shown to be here. The Pope's obstinacy rose in defiance to the Emperor. It was the Cardinal of Trent who conveyed to Paul III. the remonstrance of the German nation, urging the restoration of the Council to its original place of meeting. He delivered his address to the Pope and Cardinals on the 9th December, but he soon saw that they were not likely to be persuaded. The Pope and Cardinals would not come to a decision on the subject without referring to the Council—that very Council at Bologna,[1] whose existence, even, the Emperor declined to acknowledge! And the answer from Bologna came and was exactly what might have been expected. Before they decided on the expediency of a return to Trent, the divines remaining at Trent must first come to them at Bologna, and acknowledge the validity of the translation. In short, the Germans must give up the very point that they had specifically urged, and must submit to all the decisions already passed by the Council without reserve. Assurances must also be given that what was said about some new kind of conciliar discussion in Germany was against the Emperor's mind; and finally, that no one in Trent should use coercion to compel the prelates to remain there. If these conditions were fulfilled, the question of a return to Trent might be considered.

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[1] The Pope's own words in reference to this Council hardly admit of its being considered ecumenical: "More majorum nostrorum, ipsius Sanctae Synodi fratres nostros Episcopos et Praelatos qui ex omnibus *fere* nationibus isthic sunt, consulendos esse decrevimus."—Raynaldus, xxxiii. 259.

This utter disregard of the Emperor's solicitations showed that French influence at Rome was again in the ascendant. Young Cardinal Guise was now at Rome beginning to give a new turn to affairs. But there were spiritual arms in store even on the Emperor's side. From the moment he had heard of the translation of the Council he had commissioned his ministers to draw up a strong and well-considered protestation against it; and only the fact that nothing had been done at Bologna had hitherto caused them to keep this power in reserve. But now Mendoza threatened to employ it if he heard of the smallest synodal act being done there. And such a protestation was at length made in the Emperor's name at Bologna, on the 16th January 1548, by his ministers Vargas and Velasco. A week later, on the 23rd, it was repeated at Rome by Mendoza, who had a lively word-fight on the occasion with the Pope himself. But the Pope made full reply to him in Consistory on the 1st February, not only maintaining that the Council at Bologna was a true Council, but offering to open a disputation at Rome on the subject, and thereafter to announce to all the world the judgment given which of the two assemblies was the valid one. Of course no one could have a doubt which way the judgment would go if the disputation was to be at Rome.

An Imperial protestation.

The Emperor communicated the decisions of the Roman Curia to the Diet on the 14th January, showing them how little sympathy their remonstrances had met with, and how he had protested to the very utmost. But as these proceedings would necessarily be very protracted, he proposed to the assembled estates the formation of some general rule of guidance in the meantime. By the circulation of a set of formal questions, a religious agreement might be attained to which they could conform under his protection. This had been repeatedly suggested by the Emperor's brother Ferdinand, even before the Diet, and at Rome itself some idea was entertained that a separate understanding with the German Protestants might lead in the end to their entire reconciliation with the Church. Indeed, it was now the only thread by which Pope and Emperor were held together, and with all his threats to the Pope Charles had no mind to create a schism. He proposed to get the approval of Rome beforehand to the religious edict which was to be enacted. And the Pope, for his part, promised to send legates to Germany, as the Emperor himself desired, with full powers to make obedience easier by some concessions.

Origin of the *Interim.*

We are told by Sleidan, the contemporary Protestant historian, that the Diet of Augsburg, at the Emperor's suggestion, delegated to a select body of learned men the task of drawing up the terms of a temporary religious peace in conjunction with others whom he proposed to name himself; but as the delegates could not agree among themselves, the whole task was remitted to the Emperor. He accordingly selected three eminent scholars of different views: Julius Pflug, bishop of Naumburg, one of the most able and at the same time moderate of Catholic theologians; Michael Sidonius,[1] suffragan of Albert of Brandenburg, Cardinal Archbishop of Mainz; and Luther's friend John Agricola of Eisleben, to draw up some formulary of religion that might command general assent. The document was drafted and corrected over and over again. It was circulated among other divines and learned men, to whom it was submitted by the Emperor, even among some of the chief Protestant ministers. It was altered, added to, cut down, but at last reduced to the form of a compromise such as, it was hoped, would satisfy men of both schools; and the Legate, at the Emperor's request, sent a copy to Rome, as the greater number of the prelates desired to know the Pope's opinion of it.[1]

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[1] His proper name was Helding, but he was made by Pope Paul III. bishop of Sidon *in partibus infidelium*, when he was appointed suffragan to the Cardinal Archbishop. He had been at the Council of Trent.

Such was the origin of the famous *Interim.* The Pope received it and laid it before the Council at Bologna. Both at Rome and at Bologna it met with a certain amount of approval, although objections were raised to some points as ambiguous and to others as tending to heresy. For it condoned the marriages of priests and allowed the cup to the laity. No doubt it was only intended as a temporary arrangment, and not even sacerdotal marriages, indulged for a time, touched any vital principle. In such matters the Pope could exercise a dispensing power. In Germany, moreover, many of the Catholic clergy considered that there was a positive necessity for such concessions. So it was really a question of Church policy rather than of high principle whether it should be authorised or not. But, on the other hand, there were doctrines still insisted on, such as works of supererogation, which Protestants generally could not accept. And the Papal policy, it is to be feared, was not unaffected by considerations of this world. The French were trying to keep Paul III. from making too great concessions to the Emperor, and his hope of getting Piacenza, or a compensation for it, had rather too much to do with his course of action. He put off sending the promised legate to the Emperor, and at last sent a simple nuncio; and even this nuncio brought no news of a decision, but only announced that one was about to be taken at Rome. But when this nuncio arrived, the Emperor had taken his own decision; and the nuncio had his first audience after the *Interim* was already published. For the Emperor felt that he had no occasion to wait longer. He had already obtained from the Pope a promise of such concessions, and all that was needed now was to give them a more definitive sanction. The bishops must be empowered to institute married priests and authorise communion in both kinds. And it was much to be desired that some prelates should be deputed to arrange with the Emperor about Church goods.

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[1] Sleidan, bk. xx.; Sarpi, bk. iii. The statement of Onuphrius cited by Sarpi in a marginal note that the Pope received the writing as an insult from the Emperor seems to be quite unwarranted.

Its proclamation.

The edict was proclaimed at the Diet on the 15th May. The Elector of Mainz expressed the gratitude of the assembly for the trouble the Emperor had taken, and said that pending the decision of the General Council, it was only fit that they should all obey the decree. There seemed really to be a general acquiescence; but it was soon found that out of doors nobody liked it at all. The Catholic princes would have nothing to do with it, and Charles never meant to force it on them; but it was not much more popular with the humiliated Protestants. The quondam Elector, John Frederic, though a prisoner, was dead against it. The landgrave of Hesse, indeed, assured the Emperor that he would be glad to enforce it. But this was only to obtain release from imprisonment; for he was anxious also to assure the Hessian preachers that if he once got home they would have every reason to be pleased with him. The chief resistance came from the Protestant towns; and though they were threatened with force to make them submissive, that did not prevent an outburst of seditious preaching, lampoons, and virulent satire.[1]

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[1] Janssen's *History of the German People* (translated by Christie), vi. 403-20.

The *Interim*, however, concerns us mainly as regards its effects on the English Reformation; for these were very considerable. One of its most obvious results was, as we have partly seen already, to drive several German preachers to seek refuge in England. But this was only a minor matter. The main thing was that the spiritual and temporal rulers of England felt themselves relieved from all immediate apprehension of such a state of matters as Cardinal Pole had suggested—in which England would be made to appear as the spiritual enemy of Christendom, and the aid of the Emperor might be successfully invoked to put down a heretical and really unconstitutional Government. Whether anything like this could ever have really taken place may no doubt be a question; but it was a question that could not have been free from anxiety till events furnished the answer. The Emperor had always enough to do with his own Lutheran subjects in Germany, and now when he had subdued them by force of arms he was deserted by the Pope, and they were really more troublesome than ever. He might keep them down, of course, as vanquished enemies, and enforce his own terms upon them as far as he dared. But it was virtually his own terms merely, not fully ratified, as yet, by the supreme authority of the Church, to which their obedience was insisted on. And what was the spiritual value of a mere "Interim" Imperial religion, authorised by neither Pope nor Council?

Shows the breakdown of conciliar government.

The *Interim*, in fact, announced, not merely to Germany but to all Europe, that the General Council, brought together after so many delays and with so much pains and labour, had been ineffective as to its main object, and for the present had utterly broken down. Of course it was recognised that the breakdown was merely temporary, as in fact it proved to be; but a real breakdown, nevertheless, it was. And the fact might have suggested doubts to thinking minds whether conciliar government of the Church was much longer possible. Indeed, the government of the Church could scarcely be called conciliar, even while this Council lasted. For conciliar government was a principle which had long since been on the wane. If the traditions of Constance could by any means have been preserved in later Councils, a real deliberative body gathered at short intervals from all nations, of Western Christendom at least, would have sat from time to time to discuss and settle the highest questions which affected the government and theology of the Church at large. The authority of such a tribunal of opinion would have been greater than that of the Pope himself, and the Pope would have been, like a constitutional sovereign, always bound to give effect to its determinations.

If such a condition of things had been possible, the Germans themselves could hardly have raised an objection. But it was not possible in the age which succeeded the Council of Constance. For one thing, notions of what we call constitutional government were not making progress even in the political world, and it was still more difficult to carry them out in a community which extended through so many nations. In the Church, as in the different kingdoms of Europe during the fifteenth century, the monarchic principle was growing continually stronger. We have seen this already to some extent in the triumph of Eugenius IV. over the Council of Basel. But when the monarchic principle in the Church tended to become autocratic, as the monarchic principle in the kingdoms of the world at that time did, some dangerous collisions between temporal and spiritual authority were absolutely certain to ensue.

Now, the Empire of Truth undoubtedly extends over all nations, and it was to define this Catholic or universal Truth that a small company of bishops and theologians of different countries had met together within a valley in the Tyrol. To define universal Truth and to lay down laws for the correction of abuses in the universal Church—was this a hopeful way to set about the matter? A good deal of information from different countries was no doubt desirable—nay, very necessary indeed, in order to come to a satisfactory result; for, though truth is one, its manifestations are controlled by local and temporary conditions, and a very large amount of local discussion should have been requisite before the different nations could agree in a General Council. As a matter of fact, they did not agree. Charles V. wanted the Council merely as a means to promote order and discipline, that he might restrain the Protestants and govern Germany in peace. The Pope and the Curialists at Rome wanted the Council—as there must be one—to preserve the system of the Church and stamp with their authority a conventional orthodoxy which had as yet been too loosely defined or not defined at all. Other potentates were not so warm upon the subject, but simply looked on to see how matters would affect their interests.

And so the Council of Trent became altogether a papal Council, in which, while the nations were not fully represented, methods of procedure were dictated from Rome as the case required. The order about voting, too — that it should not be by nations, as at Constance — while proxies also were disallowed,—was by no means calculated to promote real impartiality. For German bishops were necessarily absent — not merely those of Lutheran tendencies, but also those engaged in putting down Lutheranism in Germany. French bishops were there, but comparatively few, and even the Spaniards were not numerous. So the real business of the Council was mainly in the hands of Italians and Curialists; and the great spiritual monarchy of Europe thought still to rule the nations without understanding the wants or weaknesses of each separate nationality.

Results of the Council so far.

What the Council had done so far, instead of doing anything to win over heretics, was to condemn all Lutheran and Calvinistic doctrine, excommunicating every one who would not renounce such opinions, and thus securing the permanence of schisms, which indeed have remained to our own times. In another field, doubtless, something had been done for the reform of abuses. But even in this matter we must not attribute too much merit to the Council, so far as it had yet gone. For the motive power of reform really lay outside the Council, and outside the papacy itself. Indeed, it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the iniquities of Henry VIII. did more to stir up a righteous zeal for reformation in the Church at large than any formal agency whatever. Before that shameful day when the English King outraged the moral sense of the whole Christian world—the Lutherans not excepted—by his unblushing demands, and threw off allegiance to Rome when these were not conceded, compelling all his subjects by the most brutal legislation and relentless executions to join with him in renouncing that old spiritual allegiance which they almost all in their hearts still sincerely cherished,—before that day the papal court was by no means an example of high morality. But when these things took place it was evident that an entirely novel problem had forced itself upon thinkers who valued a common Christianity at all. How was tyranny so awful to be met? That it could not be condoned was manifest. Within England itself it had been met by the brave spirit of submissive martyrdom. The sanctity of matrimony and the universal jurisdiction of the See of Rome seemed for the time to be absolutely one cause; and the Pope, had he been ever so vile a man personally, had the positive duty thrust upon him to denounce and punish as he could such daring defiance of all public morality. At the first news of those revolting judicial murders, several of the cardinals had envied the death of the victims;[1] to be slain for such a cause was surely to win heaven by suffering.

Project for the reformation of the Roman Curia.

And the new zeal for righteousness did not end with empty wishes. In 1536 Paul III. himself had taken a step of great importance. After some consultation with Cardinal Contarini he called a council or committee of nine eminent and zealous Churchmen to draw up a scheme for a general reform of discipline. To Contarini himself, only raised to the purple in 1535, half a year after Pope Paul's accession, was given the general direction of the scheme, and his particular friend Reginald Pole, just made a cardinal then at the end of 1536, was also placed on the commission. Pole, indeed, was its most active member. There were four cardinals among the nine members; the other two were Gian Pietro Caraffa, of whom we shall hear much hereafter when he became Pope Paul IV., and James Sadolet, who had been papal secretary under two pontiffs, but loved the retirement of his bishopric at Carpentras better than the court of Rome. Of the other five members four were afterwards made cardinals likewise, the only exception being Giovanni Matteo Giberti, Bishop of Verona, a character not unlike that of Sadolet, as it might be said of both that they were warm friends of letters, of purity, and of Cardinal Pole. They were to report on the abuses, even in the papal court, which in their opinion needed reformation, and to suggest the remedies. And in the end they did publish a report, which was printed at Rome in 1538, detailing twenty-four abuses in the administration of the Church, and four particular ones in the government of the Roman Curia itself.[2]

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[1] See Bk. II. ch. vi.

[2] *Consilium delectorum Cardinalium et aliorum praelatorum de emendanda Ecclesia.* [Without date.]

The Pope actually proposed this scheme of reformation to the cardinals in full consistory; but there were easily found reasons, which at least were plausible, for not adopting it. Nicholas Schomberg, Cardinal of Capua, said that evil-doers would not be at a loss for means to circumvent such well-intended regulations, and existing abuses would cause less scandal than new ones, which would attract more attention from their very novelty. Moreover, they would give the Lutherans occasion to boast that they had forced the Pope to institute a Reformation; and the fact itself would be treated as a justification of Lutheranism, and thus increase their obstinacy. On the other hand, Gian Pietro Caraffa, the Theatine Cardinal, as he was called, insisted strongly that there should be no temporising. The proposed reform was necessary, and could not be delayed without offence to God. It was not justifiable to do evil that good might ensue; nor was it right to forbear from doing a positive duty on account of the evil that might arise from it. Nevertheless it was determined to put the matter off to another time, and to keep the whole consultation secret. Schomberg, however, sent a copy into Germany, where it soon became public enough, and was the subject of much criticism both favourable and unfavourable.[1]

New religious Orders.

New religious Orders had been forming in Italy for many years in the spirit of old austerity. The Capuchins were a reformed body of Franciscans who went back to the original ideal. The Theatine Order was founded by Caraffa and a few others, who renounced the world and agreed to live at first in poverty and seclusion, with special spiritual exercises, but afterwards descended into the city to preach and to establish a seminary for education to the priesthood. It turned out, however, to be a rather select seminary, not for priests, but for bishops, as it was made a rule that all new members should be of noble birth, who should show their zeal by self-sacrifice, living on alms and yet refusing to beg. Caraffa himself had resigned the bishopric of Chieti and the archbishopric of Brindisi before he and his friend Gaetano first instituted the Order and bound themselves by the same obligation.[1] Then in 1540 the zeal of Loyola obtained papal sanction for the foundation of the Society of Jesus, which received fuller liberties from the Pope three years later.[2] And further, in 1542, with the strong approval of Loyola, Caraffa and John Alvarez de Toledo, Cardinal of Burgos, prevailed on Paul III. to set up a supreme tribunal of the Inquisition at Rome on the model of the Spanish Inquisition, to which all other such tribunals should be subordinate.[3]

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[1] Sarpi, bk. i. Pallavicino's statements on this subject (bk. iv. c. 5) do not conflict with Sarpi's. The report was not only republished soon after in Germany, both by Protestant and by Roman Catholic editors, but another edition of it was published so late as 1555 with a bitter preface by Vergerius under the title "Concilium de emendanda Ecclesia. Authore J. P. Carapha." The object was to show that Gian Pietro Caraffa, when he became Pope Paul IV., turned his back upon the reforms which he had so strongly advocated when a cardinal. But the imputation was really unjust; for no Pope ever entered on his office with so much reforming zeal. The misfortune was that his very indignation against wrong turned him into a partizan, and he fell into the methods of an evil world, which he was unable to control.

Whatever we may think of all these movements, they showed fervent zeal for righteousness. It is easy to note the crimes and wickedness of the world in any age, especially in an age which yielded such an abundant harvest of evil. But good was fighting with evil beneath the surface, though it attracted comparatively little observation even from contemporaries, and still less from posterity. There was now exemplified, in fact, what that great philosopher of Christianity, the Apostle of the Gentiles, pointed out in the first age, that the weak things of the world overcome the strong, and the things that are not bring to nought the things that are. Popes and Councils might have done much in the past, but the world was growing too big for them, and the unseen leaven was working in a way that was sure now to become manifest. The progress of the world was not delayed by a misunderstanding between its temporal and spiritual head; for indeed both Pope and Emperor were getting worn out, and a new age was sure to bring with it new men, new methods, and in the end altogether new ideas.

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[1] Ranke's *Hist. of the Popes*, bk. ii. ch. 3.

[2] *Ib.* ch. 4.

[3] *Ib.* ch. 6.

Death of Paul III.

Paul III. died on the 10th November 1549 at the age of eighty-three. Amid the distractions of the Church and discords in his own family, his stout heart had failed him at length. Custom allowed nine days for a pope's funeral, and the tenth should have been the day for entering the conclave. But owing to the absence of several cardinals this was put off till the 28th of the month; and Cardinal Pacheco, who had felt bound not to leave Trent without orders from the Emperor, arrived some days later still—that is to say, on the 4th December, when the cardinals were all closed in. Nor was even he the last to come and be admitted, though men at first hoped so. The election was awaited outside with more than usual anxiety; for the coming year, 1550, was to be a year of Jubilee, and none but a pope was qualified to open the Sacred Door, which he was expected to do on Christmas Eve. But divided interests and feelings prolonged the matter over the new year. Some cardinals were imperialist, some favoured the French, others were Pauline, that is to say, allies of the Farnesi. At first the betting at bankers' shops in Rome was all in favour of the English cardinal, Pole, being made Pope. But a number of French cardinals were later in coming than Pacheco, and Pole was imperialist. On the 9th December he made "a most eloquent speech" in the congregation, thanking not only his supporters, but his opponents also, and, confessing himself too weak for such a burden, urged them to propose another candidate rather than delay the election further. The French cardinals arrived on the 11th, and the issue became more doubtful. Pole's twenty-three adherents stood by him steadfastly, and only two left him at a later stage. The air of the conclave was foul, and several cardinals had to be carried out sick. Yet the disagreement of the different parties was so strong, owing to instructions received from their princes, that the election seemed further off than ever, till, as the result of some negotiation between Cardinals Guise and Farnese, the French and Imperialists both agreed in the election of Cardinal del Monte, who had been first president of the Council of Trent. Early in the morning on the 8th February he was elected accordingly, and took the name of Julius III.[1]

Election of Julius III.

The new Pope was crowned on the 23rd February, and opened the Sacred Door two days after. As to the Council, he was quite ready to gratify the Emperor by restoring it to Trent. There were, indeed, difficulties as to the mode of bringing this about; but after some months these were arranged, and a bull was issued on the 14th November for the resumption of the Council at its first place of meeting, on the 1st May 1551.

But it is time to return to England; for the death of Paul III. occurred within a month after the fall of the Protector Somerset, and by the time that the Council reassembled at Trent, two-thirds of the brief reign of Edward VI. had already passed away.

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[1] Sarpi, bk. iii.; *Venetian Calendar*, v. pp. 274-309.

BOOK VI

LOLLARDY IN POWER

CHAPTER I

WARWICK, GARDINER, AND CRANMER

THE world has generally been aware that the government of Henry VIII. was a real despotism. But it has been somewhat slow to recognise, what I trust my readers have seen with greater clearness, that the climax of that despotism was attained when it broke down the ancient liberties and independence of the Church. And one thing further requires to be taken into account, which is easily lost sight of—that a despotism, once established, is apt to remain a despotism even when the original despot has passed away. For if an old constitution has been weakened in every part except its head, there is manifestly no power of action left under the new conditions, even when the king is a minor, except in those who are strong enough to mould the royal will. The despotic character given to the constitution by the Tudors remained even under the Stuarts, and was such as could only be got rid of through the long and painful struggle of the seventeenth century. It is no question as to the severity of the despotism in each particular reign. A despotism may be mild or it may be ferocious; but once a constitution becomes despotic, so it must remain till war and statesmanship, and the still small voice of Christianity amid the tumult, have succeeded in turning the despotism into a more genial form of government. And even when this is effected, historic origins remain; for to

Despotic government continues after Henry VIII.

this day it is a power behind the throne, namely, the Cabinet, that wields the destinies of England, however much we please to talk about a democracy.

So, whatever course might be taken by Warwick, the new minister who had thus risen to the command of affairs, that course could not but be despotic. In fact, he had to be more despotic than Somerset, even if he did not wish to be so. He thoroughly understood the man he had supplanted, having been his comrade and rival in high commands during the late reign. He knew his weaknesses, and he also knew the machine of government and the sources of political power. As a military commander Somerset, no doubt, well understood his business and the policy of keeping Scotland in subjection. But Warwick was experienced in warfare both by land and sea, and was a far greater master of policy. He had been Henry VIII.'s Lord Admiral for a time, but, having been made Somerset's successor as Lord Great Chamberlain at the commencement of the new reign, his former post was given to Somerset's brother, Lord Seymour, whose dangerous ambitions and malpractices brought him speedily to the block. The power of the Protector himself was weakened by this, and Warwick saw his advantage when, having just put down the Norfolk rebels in 1549, he had the Council at his command and got Somerset proclaimed a traitor and lodged in the Tower. His trial, and the charges against him, do not concern us here. Parliament met again in November, within a month of his arrest, and it was very soon seen that the new Government was to be fully more severe, and also more inimical to traditional religion, than that which it had superseded.

Warwick more despotic than Somerset.

Parliament meets again, Nov. 1549.

On the 9th November, a bill for the suppression of riots and unlawful assemblies, such as those which had lately given so much trouble, was read a first time in the House of Lords. It evidently gave rise to very much discussion, and was only passed ultimately on the 19th, after no less than six readings. It then went down to the House of Commons, where it had a first reading the same day, and a second on the 23rd. Difficulties had apparently arisen here too, and in the *Journals* of the House, after mention of the second reading, it is added, "Committed to Mr. Chancellor." The result was that it was withdrawn, and a "new bill for suppressing of rebellions" was read a first time on the 5th December. But even this new bill's progress was not an easy one, for it had to be read no less than eight times before it was finally passed on the 23rd, just before Christmas. Next day it was sent up to the Lords with the old bill which their Lordships had already passed, and on the 26th it was read a first time by the Peers. On the 27th and 28th it was read a second and a third time, when it was at length despatched and became law. In that form it was certainly severe enough, and it is clear that, whatever may have been the points contested in those numerous discussions in both Houses, the Lower House felt itself unable after all to do much to protect the liberties of the poor commons. For the statute made it treason for an assembly, even of twelve persons seeking to alter the laws passed by Parliament, not to disperse when ordered, and also made it felony to destroy hedges and ditches, or other fences about enclosures.[1]

Legislation about religion.

Now let us see what was done as regards religion. On the 9th November, the very same day on which the Lords read a first time the bill to put down commotions, they had also read a first time a bill for the modification of the Uniformity Act passed in the last session (2 and 3 Edward VI. c. 1). This bill was read a second time on the 11th, and committed to the Bishops of Ely, Westminster, Rochester, the Lord

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[1] Statutes 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 5. The progress of the bills may be traced in the *Journals* of the two Houses.

(*i.e.* Justice) Montague, and Mr. Hales. After which nothing more is heard of it, and its precise object must be a matter of speculation. It was called a bill "for the repeal of a certain branch within the Act made for a uniform order of service."

The appeal of the bishops.

But on the 14th occurred something of much greater significance. The bishops made an appeal to the House on the position to which they had now for some time been reduced. Their authority, they said, was despised by the people, and their jurisdiction absolutely annulled by proclamations. They durst not call any man before their tribunals, or compel him to go to church. They could punish no crime, and discharge no episcopal duty. The Lords professed to be very sorry, and directed the bishops to draw up a bill themselves to correct the evil, so that, if approved by the Council and all the orders, the measure might be made law. The bishops were evidently animated by a hope that the recent change of Government would lead to better things; but if they expected much relief they were doomed to be disappointed. When they had drawn their bill, the Lords objected to it as giving them too great power. The subject was accordingly referred to a mixed commission of bishops and lay Lords; and apparently while this was sitting a good deal of legislation, not much in accordance with episcopal views, was discussed in both Houses, the different projects commonly originating in the House of Commons.

Schemes for restoring ecclesiastical laws.

On the very day, indeed, when the bishops made their complaint in the Upper House, the Commons were moved to consider a bill "for administration of the Ecclesiastical Laws by students of the University admitted by the Archbishop, Bishop, etc." So the project is described at the first reading. The students, as appears later, were to be of four years' standing. It was a plausible attempt to rescue ecclesiastical law from its long suspense, ever since "the Submission of the Clergy" in 1532. But such a scheme could scarcely have commended itself to the heads of the Church, and its introduction, in the first instance, in the Lower House of the Legislature, must have seemed to mark an advance in Lollardy or Secularism. It passed through three readings in the Commons, and two in the Lords, where it disappeared, it would seem, after the second reading on the 10th December, and gave place to another bill introduced on the 11th, "touching the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction." This bill, too, seems to have been superseded by a new one on the same subject on the 17th, which, after a first reading, was committed to the King's attorney, then went through a second and third reading just before Christmas, and was sent down to the Commons. The Commons recognised it as a "new bill," and gave it three readings. But it was not finally passed.

There was, however, one piece of very effective legislation, the origin of which, to all appearance, gave but little evidence of what the scheme would ultimately become. On the 19th November the Commons read a first time a "Bill against fond, phantastical Prophecies," which only received a second reading on the 18th December, nearly a month later, and a third on the 26th, when it was apparently passed.[1] Yet on the 2nd January 1550 they read a first time a new bill, which probably incorporated the substance of the bill just mentioned and gave it a new direction. This was called "The bill to avoid and burn divers Papistic books and books of prophecies"; but the title given to it was altered in subsequent stages. It became "the bill of divers Church books of the old Service" (a marginal note calls them "Papists' books"), and finally "the

Bill for destroying papistical books and images.

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[1] The word "Judicium" is written after the notice of the third reading, and this word generally means that the bill is passed. But it may mean only that a decision was come to about it; which in this case, to judge by what follows, may have been that a new bill should be drawn up.

Bill for the defacing of images and bringing in of books of old Service in the Church." This was read not only a third but a fourth time in the Commons on the 20th January. It evidently encountered not a little discussion, as indeed it was clear that the object now went far beyond the suppression of "fond, fantastical prophecies." It was read a first time in the Lords on the 23rd January, passed its second reading next day, and its third on the 25th, notwithstanding the protests of the Earl of Derby, Bishops Tunstall, Sampson, Aldrich, Heath, Thirlby, and Day, and Lords Morley, Stourton, Windsor, and Wharton.

The reader will not wonder at their protests when he grasps the full meaning of this portentous Act. And we may perhaps discover at the same time why a bill against "fond, fantastical prophecies" was changed at the new year into one with a scope so very much enlarged. The fact is that Warwick had been endeavouring to effect no small part of the object he had in view without any Act of Parliament at all; and on Christmas Day he addressed, in the King's name, a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, which must have put an end to all doubt as to the attitude of the new Government towards religion. But, though doubtless immediately published, it must have been rather unsafe to press the demands made in such a letter without an Act of Parliament to back them up. So the bill against fantastical prophecies was given up, and a larger measure took its place, of which we shall speak more fully presently. Meanwhile it is desirable to note the terms of the royal letter written to Cranmer on Christmas Day, which were as follows:—

The King's letter to Cranmer.

BY THE KING.

Right Reverend Father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas the book entitled "The Book of Common Prayers and administration of the

Sacraments and other rites and ceremonies of the Church after the use of the Church of England" was agreed upon and set forth by Act of Parliament, and by the same Act commanded to be used of all persons within this our realm; yet nevertheless we are informed that divers unquiet and evil disposed persons, sithence the apprehension of the Duke of Somerset, have noised and bruited abroad that they should have again their old Latin service, their conjured bread and water, with suchlike vain and superstitious ceremonies, as though the setting forth of the said Book had been the only act of the said Duke; We, therefore, by the advice of the body and state of our Privy Council, not only considering the said Book to be our act, and the act of the whole state of our realm assembled together in Parliament, but also the same to be grounded upon Holy Scripture, agreeable to the order of the primitive Church, and much to the re-edifying of our subjects, to put away all such vain expectation of having the public service, the administration of the Sacraments and other rites and ceremonies again in the Latin tongue, which were but a preferment of ignorance to knowledge and darkness to light, and a preparation to bring in papistry and superstition again, have thought good, by the advice aforesaid, to require, and nevertheless straitly to command and charge you, that, immediately upon the receipt hereof, you do command the dean and prebendaries of the Cathedral Church, the parson, vicar or curate and churchwardens of every parish within your diocese, to bring and deliver unto you or your deputy, every[1] of them for their church and parish, at such convenient place as you shall appoint, all antiphoners, missals, grayles, processionals, manuals, legends, pies, portasies, jornalles and ordinals, after the use of Sarum, Lincoln, York, or any other private use, and all other books of service, the keeping whereof should be a let to the usage of the said Book of Common Prayers, and that you take the same books into your hands, or into the hands of your deputy, and them so deface and abolish that they never after may serve, either to any such use as they were provided for, or be at any time a let to that godly and uniform order which by a common consent is now set forth: and if you shall find any persons stubborn or disobedient in not bringing in the said books, according to the tenor of these our letters, that then ye commit the said person to ward, unto such time as

Old service books to be destroyed.

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[1] Printed by Cardwell "eny" which is evidently a misreading.

you have certified us of his misbehaviour. And we will and command you that you also search or cause search to be made from time to time, whether any book be withdrawn or hid, contrary to the tenor of these our letters, and the same book to receive into your hands, and to use as in these our letters we have appointed.

And furthermore, whereas it has come to our knowledge that divers froward and obstinate persons do refuse to pay towards the finding of bread and wine for the holy communion, according to the order prescribed by the said Book, by reason whereof the holy communion is many times omitted upon the Sunday; these are to will and command you to convent such obstinate persons before you, and them to admonish and command to keep the order prescribed in the said Book; and if any shall refuse so to do, to punish them by suspension, excommunication, or other censures of the Church. Fail you not thus to do as you will avoid our displeasure.

Given under our Signet at our palace of Westminster the 25th of December, the 3rd year of our reign.[1]

This was a rude shock to old conservatism when the bishops had been hoping to recover some of their lost power, even to correct immorality. Nor could they have derived very much comfort from the other ecclesiastical measures still before Parliament. One of these, touching the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, was still going through its stages but never received the royal assent. Another, which did become law, assuredly did not please them at all. For it was only presented in the Commons as late as the 21st January, when it was read twice that day; and after a third reading on the 22nd, it went up to the Lords. There also it received two readings in one day (the 25th), and a third on the 31st, when it was passed with serious protests. But it must have been materially altered in discussion, for it had to go back to the House of Commons, and receive three readings there again, the first on the very day it left the House of Lords (31st January), the second and third the day after (1st February) just in time to pass before Parliament was adjourned.

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[1] Cited at full length in Cranmer's letter to his Archdeacon on the subject in Cardwell's *Documentary Annals*, i. 73-7.

The Act in question had this merit at least, that it aimed at a real settlement of a long-standing question. For the Commission of Thirty-two[1] on ecclesiastical laws had never yet been appointed; so that the questions what clerical ordinances touched the prerogative or were against statute law, and what others might be considered valid, remained still without an answer. But now, the project of administering such laws by university students having been evidently given up, one more statute (3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 11) was passed for the revision of the existing canons, giving the King power to nominate during three years sixteen of the clergy, of whom four should be bishops, and sixteen laymen, of whom four should be common lawyers, on a commission for the purpose. Notwithstanding the haste with which this bill was rushed through the two Houses of Parliament, it evidently had undergone some changes in the Lords, and among others this, that whereas when it first went through the Commons the number of Commissioners it authorised was to be only sixteen in all, the Lords restored the full number of thirty-two, which had always been contemplated in Henry VIII.'s time; and this was no doubt the reason why it had to be submitted again to the Commons like a new bill. Nevertheless, it passed the Lords only with strong protests, not merely from Bishops Tunstall of Durham, Aldrich of Carlisle, Heath of Worcester, Thirlby of Westminster, and Day of Chichester, but even from Archbishop Cranmer himself, and from Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, Holbeach of Lincoln, Ridley of Rochester, and Ferrar of St. David's, all of the new school. Probably the objections of either party were different from those of the other; but all were of no avail. The bill went down again to the Commons and was passed.

Act to constitute the Commission of Thirty-two.

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[1] See pp. 47, 48.

Act for a new Ordinal.

A very important subject was now approached, on which, notwithstanding the interest which it has excited, what was done has never yet been quite accurately set forth. The following statement of the case, however, is very nearly correct:—

> A bill for a new Ordinal was introduced into the House of Peers on 8th January 1550. It seems to have given rise to considerable discussion, for it only passed its first reading on the 23rd of the month, and was finally voted two days later (25th January 1550). Thirteen bishops were absent from the House. Of the fourteen present, five dissented.[1]

This statement only requires a little amplification, even to make it strictly accurate; for the bill was not "finally voted," even in the House of Lords, on 25th January. It had, in the first place, naturally to be referred to another Chamber, and it was delivered to the Commons on the 29th. On the following day it was read a first, second, and third time there, and passed, apparently with some alteration. For on the 31st it was again before the Lords, who read it a first time in the morning, and a second and third time in the afternoon. And so it became law in spite of the protests of the five bishops who objected to it on the 25th. These were Bishops Tunstall, Aldrich, Heath, Thirlby, and Day; and Heath's opposition did not end with that protest, as we shall see presently.

The Act was a very short one, and may as well be quoted here *verbatim*:—[2]

> Forasmuch as, concord and unity to be had within the King's Majesty's dominions, it is requisite to have one uniform fashion and manner for making and consecrating of bishops, priests, deacons, or ministers of the Church: Be it therefore enacted by the King's Highness, with the assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and the Commons in this

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[1] Gasquet and Bishop's *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 261.

[2] Statute 3 and 4 Edward VI. c. 12.

> present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that such form and manner of making and consecrating of Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, deacons, and other ministers of the Church, as by six prelates and six other men of this Realm, learned in God's law, by the King's Majesty to be appointed and assigned, or by the most number of them, shall be devised for that purpose, and set forth under the Great Seal of England before the first day April next coming, shall by virtue of this present Act be lawfully exercised and used, and none other, any Statute or law or usage to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.

On the 2nd February the Privy Council took the first step towards carrying out the purpose of this statute, as shown by the register of their Acts, which under that date bears the following entry :—

> The Bishop[s] and learned whose names be underwritten [were] appointed by the Lords to devise orders for the creation of bishops and priests.[1]

Bishop Heath objects to the book,

But unfortunately the names are not "underwritten," and we have no information who "the Bishops and learned" appointed actually were, except that one of them, it appears, was Bishop Heath, who was chosen to sit upon this Committee actually against his will. Accordingly we read in the same records six days later, *i.e.* on the 8th February :—

> Bishop of Worcester convented before the Lords for that he would not assent to the book made by the rest of the bishops and of the clergy appointed to devise a form for the creation of the bishops and priests.[2]

After nearly three weeks' deliberation the following resolution was come to on the last day of the month :—

> It is thought convenient by the Lords that, seeing the rest appointed to devise the form for consecrating of priests have agreed upon the book, and set their hands to the same, that

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[1] Dasent's *Acts of the Privy Council*, ii. 379. [2] Dasent, *u.s.* 388.

> the Bishop of Worcester shall also do the like, specially for that he cannot deny but all that is contained in the book is good and godly.[1]

We can imagine from words like these with what sweet reasonableness documents were sometimes signed at the bidding of a Council, when the signatory was not bold enough to deny that all contained in them was "good and godly." But Bishop Heath, it appears, was not to be thus coerced, and the next notice of him, four days later, is as follows:—

and is imprisoned.

> Bishop of Worcester committed to the Fleet for that obstinately he denied to subscribe to the book devised for the consecration and making of bishops and priests.[2]

Thus it is clear that the ordinal by which bishops and priests were afterwards consecrated in England was objected to from the first by several of the bishops, and that one of those appointed to the task of drawing it up absolutely refused to act, and was imprisoned for so refusing. In view of this I fear that, as to a recent controversy with Rome, truth compels us to confess that the sufficiency of Anglican Orders was by no means generally admitted when the new form of consecration was first composed. The new ordinal was thrust upon the Church much as the Great Bible was thrust upon the Church, not because it was approved by the bishops, but because it suited the higher powers to have it so. Whether what was done was fatal to the validity of Anglican Orders, as the Romanists contend, I do not feel called upon to discuss. Those who think so, of course, may transfer their allegiance to Rome. My humble part is only to declare what actually was done. And as to what was done in the positive change of form, I may content myself with the brief account given of it by Collier.[3]

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[1] Dasent, *u.s.* p. 403.

[2] *Ib.* p. 405.

[3] *Ecclesiastical Hist.*, v. 376.

> The Committee appointed for compiling the Ordination-book struck off the additions of later ages, and governed themselves by the forms of the ancient Church. Thus, in the consecration of Bishops, the gloves and sandals, the mitre, ring and croiser, were omitted: neither in the ordaining of priests was there any anointing, or delivering the consecrated plate.

Collier, I may say, follows up this brief paragraph with a few pages on the sufficiency of these diminished rites, which the reader may consult for himself. It was certainly the intention of the Government that no other ordinal should henceforth be used, and the policy of the royal letter of Christmas Day was now embodied in an Act passed by Parliament, making it penal to possess any one of the old service books. And though we have already seen the pretext for this policy set forth in the royal letter, we may understand it still better as set forth in the preamble to the Act itself,[1] which is as follows:—

Act against old service books,

> Where the King's most excellent Majesty hath of late set forth and established by the authority of Parliament an uniform, quiet, and godly order for common and open prayer in a book intituled, "The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other rites and ceremonies of the Church after the Church of England," to be used and observed in the said Church of England, agreeable to the order of the primitive Church, much more conformable unto his loving subjects than other diversity of service as heretofore of long time hath been used, being in the said book ordained nothing to be read but the very pure Word of God, or which is evidently grounded upon the same, and in the other things corrupt, untrue, vain, and superstitious, and as it were a preparation to superstition; which, for that they be not called in but permitted to remain undefaced, do not only give occasion to such perverse persons as do impugn the order and godly meaning of the King's said Book of Common Prayer, to continue in their old accustomed superstitious service, but also minister great occasion to diversity of opinions, rites, ceremonies and services:—Be it therefore enacted (etc.)

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[1] Statute 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 10.

that all books called antiphoners, missals, scrayles, processionals, manuals, legends, pyes, portuyses, primers in Latin or English, cowchers, journals, or other books or writings whatsoever, heretofore used for the service of the Church, written or printed in the English or Latin tongue, other than such as are or shall be set forth by the King's Majesty, shall be, by authority of this present Act, clearly and utterly abolished, extinguished and forbidden for ever to be used or kept in this realm or elsewhere within any the King's dominions.

What a catalogue of prohibited service books! The English Reformation under Warwick was almost in advance of Rome in publishing an Index Expurgatorius.[1] But then, of course, it was "superstitious" services used in church that had to be done away with; and what was more, they were service books with local variations—use of Sarum, use of Hereford, use of York, of Lincoln, and so forth. To investigate the superstitions of each was unnecessary. The nation had now one service book "agreeable to the order of the Primitive Church," and all others might well be got rid of! Uniformity was a great thing—one "uniform, quiet and godly order," though it was not very quietly received even then, and the revolt against uniformity since that day has filled the land with hundreds of bodies of Dissenters. It would almost seem that the pre-Reformation Church was the Church of liberty, and that we have been ever struggling since that day to recover something of that liberty and variety which the Government of Edward VI. first denied us. But if we value that liberty so much in these days, we must take our choice among the sects, for even the Church of Rome has her Act of Uniformity now, and has the same services everywhere all the world over.

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[1] The first Index of prohibited books published at Rome seems to have been in the year 1559, though others had already been issued at Venice (1543), at Louvain (1546), and at Paris (1551). But of course the policy of the Church of Rome everywhere had always been to suppress heretical literature; and at Rome itself nothing was allowed to be printed without permission. See Mendham's *Literary Policy of the Church of Rome.*

But this Act of Edward VI. had to do with other things besides books, and we must quote again :—

and against images.

> And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid that if any person or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition soever he, she, or they be, body politic or corporate, that now have or hereafter shall have in his, her, or their custody any of the books or writings of the sorts aforesaid, *or any images* of stone, timber, alabaster or earth, graven, carved or painted, which heretofore have been taken out of any church or chapel or yet stand in any church or chapel, and do not, before the last day of June next ensuing, deface and destroy, or cause to be defaced and destroyed the same images and every of them, and deliver or cause to be delivered, all and every the same books, to the mayor, bayliff, constable or churchwardens of the town where such books then shall be, to be by them delivered over openly within three months next following after the said delivery, to the Archbishop, Bishop, Chancellor, or Commissary of the same diocese, to the intent the said Archbishop, Bishop, Chancellor, or Commissary and every of them, cause them immediately to be openly burnt, or otherwise defaced and destroyed, shall, for every such book or books willingly retained in his, her, or their hands, or custody, within this realm or elsewhere within any the King's dominions, and not delivered, as is aforesaid, after the said last day of June, and be thereof lawfully convict, forfeit and lose to the King our Sovereign Lord, for the first offence twenty shillings, and for the second offence shall forfeit and lose, being thereof lawfully convict, four pounds, and for the third offence shall suffer imprisonment at the King's will.

The grammar limps wofully, but the meaning of the Act is clear. Mayors and bishops neglecting to destroy such books were to incur a penalty of £40. But there were two important exceptions in the scope of this Act. First, any primers of Henry VIII. might still be used if only the sentences of invocation or prayer to saints were blotted out or erased. Second, the Act was not to apply to "any image or picture set or graven upon any tomb in any church, chapel or churchyard, only for a monument of any king, prince, nobleman or other dead person which hath not been commonly reputed and taken for a saint." The entire absence of saintliness in a deceased person might be pleaded as a reason for his image being preserved in church! So ancestral tombs of ancient barons and gentry remained unviolated.

Was it wonderful that six bishops of the old school, and five temporal lords besides, protested against an Act like this? We can worship without images now; we do not want them. They were books to the unlearned, and now every one knows how to read. But the spirit in which they were destroyed long ago is quite another matter. Even now in Roman Catholic countries the crucifix speaks to the eye on pulpits, in roodlofts and by the wayside, reminding every one of the patient suffering which the One sinless Man endured for the love of man. It is rude art very frequently; but it touches the heart. On the eve of the Reformation a savage fanaticism cried out that it was idolatry. Sermons were more edifying than contemplation, even by such aids, of the great act of human Redemption. And heartless statesmanship found its policy in supporting the cause of a no less heartless fanaticism, which clung to the letter of the command: "Thou shalt not make thee any graven image."

For a striking example of the operation of this Act, let us dip once more into the records of the Privy Council, which show that a year later it was applied to the royal library itself so as not only to get rid of superstition but to yield some treasure. On the 25th February (1550-51) we read:—

> The King's Majesty's letter—for the purging of his Highness's Library at Westminster of all superstitious books, legends and such like, and to deliver the garniture of the same books, being either of gold or silver, to Sir Anthony Aucher, in the presence of Sir Thomas Darcie, etc.

Let us come back, however, to the year we are considering (1549-50), in which some entries from the same source deserve attention. Under date Sunday, 2nd February, we read :—

> Letters to the Chancellor, Receiver, Auditors of the Tenths, to allow to the Bishop of Durham in his tenths and subsidies due or to be due to the King's Majesty, the loan of £500 lent by him to the King's Majesty departed, until the said £500 be so acquitted.

That is only a small matter of justice to the aged Bishop Tunstall.[1] He had advanced money for the King's service in the late reign, and though he was a bishop of the old school, there was no intention of dealing unfairly with him in that matter. Later in the same day we also find :—

> Letters several to the Bishops of Durham and Ely to appoint in their several dioceses their chaplains and such persons, vicars and curates, within the same dioceses, to preach as by their discretions they shall think meet, the proclamations and restraints notwithstanding.

This also has an impartial look, for Bishop Goodrich of Ely was as much of the new school as Bishop Tunstall was of the old. Preaching generally had been inhibited under Somerset, though men like Hancock, as we have seen, had liberty to preach as they pleased, and they pleased to preach against "idolatry." Bishop Goodrich would certainly let loose many tongues of the kind favoured now. But Tunstall, though of the old school, was above all things timid and discreet. In his northern diocese men did not love change, and he himself did not love it either; nevertheless he would doubtless strive not to offend the ruling powers by permitting preachers to be too outspoken.

On the 3rd February we have this entry relating to Bishop Bonner :—

> The said Councillors [they are named at the head of the

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[1] A similar allowance was made next day to Bishop Goodrich for a loan to the same amount.

day's proceedings] accompanied with Justice Hales, Doctors Olyver and Lyson, and Mr. Gosnalde, did peruse the process of the matter for which the Bishop of London was imprisoned and deprived.

Of course, "the process" had a show of judicial authority. But Bonner had all along protested against the Court which had tried him in September, and after sentence of deprivation had been passed upon him on the 1st October, had repeatedly appealed against it to the Lord Chancellor and the Privy Council.[1] He was allowed, however, to remain four months in the Marshalsea prison before the least consideration was shown to his appeal, and there was no intention even now, apparently, to hear his case over again; which, in point of fact, was not done. We accordingly read on the 7th February:—

Bonner's appeal dismissed.

Dr. Bonner, late Bishop of London, being sent for to appear before the Lords in the dining chamber next to the Star Chamber, it was by the Lord Chancellor declared unto him that the King's Majesty, having appointed eight of his Highness's Privy Council, four of the lawyers of the realm and four civilians, to consider whether his appeal should be allowed, did, after long and mature debating of the same, conclude that it might not be received; whereupon his Highness willed them to declare unto the said Dr. Bonner that the sentence pronounced against him by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the rest of the Commissioners stood in force, and thereby he deprived of his bishopric.

Ridley made Bishop of London.

On the 24th February the Council determined that Ridley, Bishop of Rochester, should fill Bonner's place as Bishop of London, and should also succeed Thirlby, whose removal to Norwich was intended, in the See of Westminster, the words of the entry being:—

The Bishop of Rochester to be Bishop of London and Westminster, and to have lands of £1000 *per annum*, to be appointed by the King's Majesty.

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[1] See the whole proceedings and the appeals in Foxe, v. 750-800.

The bishopric of Westminster, however, was only reunited to London on the 1st April following, when Thirlby's translation actually took place.

Somerset released.

Meanwhile, on 6th February, Somerset was released from the Tower on giving surety that he would not seek the royal presence again until he was sent for. For the present he stood no longer in Warwick's way. He was even readmitted to the Council on the 10th April, and in June he and Warwick seemed so completely reconciled that his daughter Anne was married to Warwick's eldest son, Lord Lisle. It was fair weather everywhere for friends of the New Learning, while Bishops Bonner and Gardiner, and Heath also, were in jail. Further changes in the episcopate were coming; but of them by and by. Meanwhile, the Earl had been engineering a great change in foreign policy by arranging a peace with France and the restoration of Boulogne. The peace was settled by commissioners at Boulogne on the 24th March, and the town was surrendered on the 12th April. At the same time, the English agreed to withdraw their troops from Scotland and demolish their strongholds there. So England was relieved at once from two wars which were particularly troublesome. As for Somerset's grand idea of subjugating Scotland, or bringing about a union of two countries by the marriage of Edward VI. with Mary Stuart, it had become manifestly futile. Mary Stuart had been carried over to France, and was now betrothed to the Dauphin, afterwards Francis II. France and Scotland, moreover, acted together in war, and England would have been harassed for years alike from North and South if this politic peace had not been made.

By making friends with France, therefore, Warwick was free to attend to the internal affairs of the kingdom, and the settlement of religion on the lines which he found convenient. And not only had he the bishops practically at his command, with power to turn out any that displeased him and to put in any that were favourable to his views, but much had been done already to promote a new theology at the universities by advancing the two German theologians, Bucer and Fagius, to professorships at Cambridge, and by encouraging the various other foreign divines whom Cranmer had been inviting to England to aid in a new religious settlement.[1] There was no Council of Trent at this time, and no fear of a combination against a heretical nation.

Warwick's policy.

So Warwick had it all his own way; there was no one within the kingdom to oppose him. And in the settlement of religion he simply followed the course of things begun and the line of least resistance. Bonner had been already deprived under Somerset; Ridley was made Bishop of London in his place. Joan Bocher was burned in Smithfield, under a sentence already passed a year before, for upholding a very peculiar heresy. But the Calvinistic preaching of John Hooper rose into favour; and notwithstanding that he objected to the new ordinal and to episcopal vestments, he was made Bishop of Gloucester by patent, under the new statute,[2] without any *congé d'élire*. A strange situation; for it took nearly a year to remove his objections and get him to allow himself to be consecrated in a form which could be considered valid, even under the new ordinal. Meanwhile, Ridley was making radical changes in the diocese of London, forbidding a multitude of "popish" ceremonies, taking down altars and setting up "the Lord's board after the form of an honest table." Old Lollardy had now become Calvinistic severity, and was asserting itself in a way it could not have done hitherto without the aid of Calvinistic bishops. For the Bench of Bishops itself was becoming rapidly altered; and those who

Joan Bocher burned.

Hooper made Bishop of Gloucester.

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[1] See pp. 71-3, 112 *sq.*

[2] See p. 55.

refused to carry out a new policy could easily be imprisoned and deprived. Bishops Gardiner, Bonner, and Heath were already in unjust confinement; and Bonner had been deprived. Another bishop was now to go to prison—Day of Chichester—who refused to take down altars, and whose preaching was stigmatised as seditious because he would not accept new forms laid down by a new authority.[1] Old John Voysey, Bishop of Exeter, too, was driven by menaces to resign to make way for Miles Coverdale.

The Princess Mary.

There was one quarter, no doubt, in which Warwick and the Council did meet with opposition of a somewhat dangerous kind. But he must have laid his account with this from the first, as it was not a new thing; and assuredly what determined his policy was not bigotry. That his religion, so far as he had any, was of the old school and not of the new, we may judge from his dying confession. But his conduct at this time, as was not unnatural in one who had climbed to a perilous position by art, was entirely governed by motives of policy.

> "This Earl," said one who knew him well and was a very competent judge, "this Earl had such a head that he seldom went about anything but he conceived first three or four purposes beforehand. They thought he was afraid of the Emperor; but he had concluded with the Vidâme [of Chartres] to help the French King, his master, into as great an amity as he could with the Emperor and the realm; and to cause our noble Edward, of nature no friend to the Emperor, to be ready to mislike him when any safe occasion of falling out should be offered, he meant to seem a friend to the Lady Mary, to be taken for Imperial; that so, owing his friendship to France, and winning credit with the Emperor, he might, as time should teach him, abuse whether of them he listed, and fall in with him that might best serve his practices."[2]

These are the words of Sir Richard Morysine, who at this time was ambassador with the Emperor in Germany; and they have special reference to the case of that one distinguished personage, "the lady Mary," whose insistance on having mass kept up in her household was as great a stumbling-block to the Council now as it had been in the Protector's days. Morysine's general account of the matter, slightly condensed, is this:—

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[1] Dasent's *Acts of Privy Council*, iii. 137, 154, 168-70, 172-3, 176, 178.

[2] From Morysine's "Discourse," in Nichols's Biographical Memoir prefixed to *Literary Remains of Edward VI.*, p. ccxxvii.

The Emperor's interference in her behalf.

The Emperor, finding all his proceedings against the Germans "much stained" by things done in England, was afraid to fall out with the French King, as he knew England would be thereby "at greatest rest," and have time to settle things of religion. But, as the Devil keeps no holidays, d'Arras, the Emperor's Holy Ghost, put it in the Emperor's head to be a suitor by his ambassador lidger in England to Edward VI. that the lady Mary, now Queen, "might have her conscience free and think all laws made since her father's death as concerning religion to touch her no whit at all." The Councillors, to show themselves stout men, wrote to Morysine "to show a will in the King and Council to gratify the Emperor where he and they might," and regret that he should seek at their hands a thing they must refuse. "The Emperor, seeing he could not get it by his ambassador's suit, willed him yet to press the Lords for a promise which the lord Paget at Brussels had made to him"—that though the statutes for religion affected all other persons, the King's will was not that they should affect Mary. The lord Paget, being asked if this was true, denied it to the Council, and took oath before the Imperial ambassador, who was specially sent for, that he had no commission from the King or Council to say any such thing or ever did. And Morysine was commissioned not only to pray his Majesty to cease entreating for this but to ask for an Imperial command to the Regent [of the Netherlands] to allow Chamberlain[1] to use the English service at Brussels. The Emperor was very angry at this, and wrote a hot letter to the King against Morysine, "which letter and talk of the Emperor's ambassador when he delivered it, put our stout councillors in such a fear as they now meant to move the King's Highness in any wise to agree to the Emperor's request; and that the matter might take place they sent for the Archbishop of Canterbury and Ridley

A perplexing question.

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[1] Sir Thomas Chamberlain, the English ambassador there.

Bishop of London to know of them whether the King might with a safe conscience grant such licence to the lady Mary or no."

The Council had to consider the peril of the realm if the Emperor would take no nay or the King would give no yea, and the two Bishops were put in such fear that they asked a day to weigh the matter. Next day they said that the King, to save his country, might dispense with her. "The Duke of Northumberland, then Earl of Warwick, was very glad he had won these thus far, knowing that now, if they could not persuade the King to license his sister to have her mass, yet the whole fault should be laid on the two Bishops; so should the Emperor hear the Counsel (? Council) meant to gratify him, yea where they should not."

At this point comes in the passage already quoted about Warwick's subtlety as a politician; after which the "Discourse" proceeds to say of him:—

Canterbury he had no mind to; he saw he was plain, tractable, gentle, mild, loth to displease, and so loved the King as, if anything could draw him aside, it was his desire to see the King safe, or fear to think him nigh any hurt. But, to the matter. The Treasurer (the Marquis of Winchester),[1] who hath a tongue fit for all times with an obedience ready for as many new masters as can happen in his days, must first take instructions as they were given him, and say but what Northumberland would. To the King they came, or rather, because the Duke would have it so, the lord Darcy went for the King and brought him in to the Council Chamber—the King might not know why, lest such as were about him might have furnished him for the matter. It happened well, for that the King for the most part was so well able of himself to stand with the most of his Council that they still charged men of his Chamber as though the King had learned things of others. Yea, because his talk was always above some of their capacities, they therefore thought it rather stirred up in him by gentlemen of his Privy Chamber than grown in himself. There were good causes on both sides, the plentiful graces that God had poured on him, and the dry and barren years that some of them had spent in giving bad counsel to his father and in keeping no good to serve his son's turn withal. The Treasurer thought it always no shame to be slave to a chief councillor, of what side soever he were, no villany to help to betray his master, so he might thereby please his fellow councillor.

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[1] As yet he was only Lord St. John.

One seems to get at the inside of things when such vivid portraits are drawn for us by a diplomatist of contemporary statesmen, and apparently without the slightest malice, but rather admiration of their acuteness. We may note also the shrewd estimates of the precocious young King and the "tractable" Archbishop Cranmer. The narrative goes on:—

> The King was now come into the Council Chamber, sent for and fetched in such haste as though his realm had been already upon the sacking. Down is the Treasurer upon his knees. And then might the King guess the matter was bad; for when it had either profit to the realm or pleasure to the King, the Treasurer was not put to the pain. Down go the rest. Was not this beginning able to bid a King beware of sleights, and to tell him there was some practice in hand? I would devise my lord's oration, but that he could never skill of learned talk, or of plain simplicity. The King was borne in hand [*i.e.* given to understand], he, they, his realm and all would be nought if he did not all he mought and more to keep in with the Emperor. It is possible, some of these wise Councillors thought as the Treasurer was bidden to say, for that as yet the Emperor and the French King were not entered into the wars.

The young King's decision.

From this point I will condense the report. The King asking about the matter, the Lord Treasurer explained the circumstances. The reply was that the Emperor was angry with Morysine, who would have to be replaced and the lady Mary allowed her mass. The King, though he thought the demand touched himself not a little, agreed to Morysine's recall, but not to allow Mary to use "idolatry." The two bishops were sent to persuade him. They said, good kings in the Old Testament had suffered hill altars. But Edward pointed out that there were many things recorded in Scripture of Abraham, David, and Solomon, which should not be examples but warnings.

They must show by Scripture that the thing was lawful; otherwise he would dare any peril rather than slight God's will, even to please an Emperor. And he enlarged a good deal upon one of the Psalms, in which God complains of His people that they had broken His covenants; and made a long further discourse justifying his high view even in face of the political situation. "'The Emperor,' saith he, 'is a man liker to die himself every day than to do us any harm, how much soever he mean it; but if he live and mean us never so much, we must wait upon God's will, and commit the event of things to His wisdom and mercy.'" The bishops who came to persuade him "saw he had learned more than to be led by and by," and were fain to give up the suit.[1]

As Morysine was abroad at the time of these doings in Council, and his object was to magnify the character and abilities of the precocious young King, we may make what allowance we please for exaggeration in this matter. But the general state of the case was clearly such as he put it. In the summer of 1549, when England was convulsed with insurrections, Paget, being then ambassador at Brussels, certainly had given the Emperor to understand that the Lady Mary would be allowed peacefully to have her mass. The Council now denied that any such promise had been given, "except to this extent that the King was content to bear with her infirmity that she should for a season hear the mass in her closet or privy chamber only, whereat there should be present no more than they of her chamber, and no time appointed, but left to the King's pleasure." Such was the official explanation given of the promise in a dispatch to Morysine of the 22nd February 1551;[2] and it certainly looks like a mere prevarication, fortified by Paget's oath made before the Imperial ambassador. In 1549 there had been trouble enough at home to make the Council very unwilling to offend the Emperor. But since they had secured peace with France, and France was again doing its best to weaken the empire by encouraging the Lutherans, Warwick did not stand in so much awe of his Imperial Majesty as Cranmer and Ridley did. So he simply left them and the King to take up whatever attitude they thought fit, perhaps with a little prompting of his young Majesty beforehand, that he for his part was ready to face the worst. Undoubtedly he had been doing his best to encourage hatred of the Emperor ever since he saw that it was a sentiment to be safely indulged.

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[1] See the whole "Discourse," printed by Nichols as above, pp. ccxxiv.-ccxxxiv.

[2] Turnbull's *Foreign Calendar*, vol. i. pp. 74, 75.

The episode related by Morysine is, however, but a part of a more considerable story of which we have already seen the first beginnings. The Protector Somerset had not pushed matters with Mary to quite the same extremity as Warwick, for the reasons just explained, was now prepared to do. But the case of his cousin Mary really concerned the Emperor's honour; and he felt it would be hard indeed if he could not procure her so much as mere toleration for the exercise of that old religion in which he himself firmly believed. Even in the summer or autumn of 1550 it was said that he and his sister, Mary of Hungary, the Regent of the Netherlands, had arranged to send a special messenger to sea to carry her off out of the way of English tyranny.[1] Such a project was not altogether a novelty, for a very similar plan had once been devised with Mary's own approval to rescue her from the tyranny of her own father.[2] But of course the difficulties of carrying it into effect were enormous, and this time it was a failure as it had been before.

Plan for Mary's escape from England.

Towards the close of this year Mary was subjected

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[1] Turnbull's *Foreign Calendar*, vol. i. p. 53.

[2] *L. P.*, x. 141 (see Preface, p. viii).

Her chaplains indicted.

to new ill-treatment. The Council wrote to her that two of her chaplains, Dr. Mallet and Dr. Barkley, were indicted for offences against the law, and that process had been awarded against them and delivered to the Sheriff of Essex.[1] She wrote back on the 4th[2] that she was much surprised, as the offence was only that they had used mass in her house. She had always intended to have mass said in her house, and some of the Council themselves could bear witness to the promise that had been given to the Emperor that she should not be disturbed on that account; for last year she had had an interview with her brother on the subject, when they admitted it to be a fact. In any case, she said, she would not vary from her faith, and if molested for it she must trust to God's mercy. Then noticing some points of excessive rigour used to each of her two chaplains, she added: "I see and hear of divers that do not obey your statutes and proclamations and nevertheless escape without punishment. Be ye judges if I be well used, to have mine punished by rigour of a law, besides all the false bruits that ye have suffered to be spoken of me."[3]

This letter was read by the Council at their meeting on the 7th, "and because the replying thereunto required deliberation," they despatched the messenger to her again "with their hearty commendations, promising to send her an answer when they could find leisure within two or three days."[4] It took them, however, no less than eighteen days, and the reply which they made, a very lengthy one, was dated on Christmas Day. They told Mary that she was mistaken about the promise; it had, they admitted, been three times repeated, but yet it was only one promise.

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[1] In the *Acts of the Privy Council* there is an entry under the 1st December, ordering "Letters to the Lady Mary's Grace to induce her to suffer the Sheriff in the quietest manner, and so as might be most convenient for her honor, to serve the process upon her chaplain." Dasent, iii. 171. The letter was apparently made out next day.

[2] Foxe, vi. 13.

[3] *Ib.* 13, 14.

[4] Dasent, iii. 177.

The Council explain to her the promise given to the Emperor,

The Emperor had, indeed, made request to the King that she might be allowed to have mass, and though he was shown that it was very inconvenient, yet for his sake and hers it was winked at that she might have private mass in her own closet for a season until she might be "better informed, whereof there was some hope," under the condition that she had with her only a few of her own chamber, so that for the rest of her household the service of the realm should be used, "and none other." The late Imperial ambassador, they said, had pressed to have the promise made under patent, or at least in writing. "But that was ever denied, not because we meant to break the promise, as it was made, but because there was daily hope of your reformation." Such was the respectful language addressed to her by the Council!

The letter went on to explain that very good reasons had been given to the Imperial ambassador for denying his request. "It was told him, in reducing that which was commonly called the Mass to the order of the primitive Church and the institution of Christ, the King's Majesty and his whole realm had their consciences well quieted; against the which if anything should be willingly committed, the same should be taken as an offence to God, and a very sin against a truth known. Wherefore, to license by open act such a deed, in the conscience of the King's Majesty and his realm, were even a sin against God. The most that might herein be borne was that the King's Majesty might, on hope of your Grace's reconciliation, suspend the execution of his law, so that you would use the licence as it was first granted. Whatsoever the ambassador hath said to others, he had no other manner of grant from us."

The ambassador was conveniently dead, else we might have had another version of the pledge. But the Council went on to give the Princess some very important admonition on the subject of loyalty.

"The greater personage your Grace is, the nigher to the King, so much more ought your example to further his laws; for which cause it hath been called a good commonwealth where the people obeyed the higher estates, and they obeyed the laws." And so forth, with a little touch of how natural affection should in her case come to enforce duty. It would be tedious to rehearse even the general tenor of all the rest, pointing out the bad influence of her Grace's "singularity in opinion," and how her "evil example" hindered the good weal of the realm. But a passage like the following does seem to justify one more quotation:—

and remonstrate with her on her insubordination.

> We hear say, your Grace refuseth to hear anything reasoned contrary to your old determination; wherein you may make your opinion suspicious as that you are afraid to be dissuaded. If your faith in things be of God, it may abide any storm or weather; if it be but of sand, you do best to eschew the weather. That which we profess hath the foundation in Scriptures, upon plain texts and no glosses, the confirmation thereof by the use in the primitive Church, not in this latter corrupted. And indeed our greatest change is not in the substance of our faith; no, nor in any one article of our creed; only the difference is that we use the ceremonies, observations, and sacraments of our religion as the Apostles and first Fathers in the primitive Church did. You use the same that corruption of time brought in, and very barbarousness and ignorance nourished; and seem to hold for custom against the truth, and we for truth against custom.[1]

On the 24th January following (1551),[2] Edward was inspired to write to his sister himself as the good advice of his Council had not prevailed with her. "The whole matter, we perceive," he tells her, "rests in this, that you, being our next sister, in whom above all other our subjects, nature should place the most

Edward writes to her himself.

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[1] Foxe, vi. 14-18.

[2] Foxe's date "1550" must be understood by the old computation as the historical year 1551 beginning on the 1st January, though the arrangement of this letter with the others would lead the reader to think otherwise. *Acts and Mon.*, vi. 11.

estimation of us, would, wittingly and purposely, not only break our laws yourself, but also have others maintained to do the same. Truly, howsoever the matter may have other terms, other sense it hath not; and although by your letter it seemeth you challenge a promise made, that so you may do, yet surely we know the promise had no such meaning, neither to maintain nor to continue your fault." This is fine lecturing from a lad just over thirteen to a sister near the close of her thirty-fifth year! And it goes on in the same strain till we come to this wonderful piece of condescension. After suggesting a little conference the writer adds:—

> In this point, you see, I pretermit my estate, and talk with you as your brother rather than your supreme lord and King. Thus should you, being as well content to hear of your opinions as you are content to hold them, in the end thank us as much for bringing you to light, as now, before you learn, you are loth to see it.

Hitherto her conduct has been suffered in hope of her amendment. But if there be no hope of this, what is to be done? A long exhortation follows, and near the end the King tells her that if she objects to his altering things not altered by his father she does him great injury. "We take ourself," says the royal youth, "for the administration of this our commonwealth to have the same authority which our father had, diminished in no part, neither by example of Scripture, nor by universal laws."

Mary wrote in answer, from Beaulieu in Essex, on the 3rd February:—

Her answer.

> I have received your letters by Master Throgmorton, this bearer; the contents whereof do more trouble me than any bodily sickness, though it were even to the death; and the rather for that your Highness doth charge me to be both a breaker of your laws and an encourager of others to do the like. I most humbly beseech your Majesty to think that I never intended towards you otherwise than my duty com-

pelleth me unto: that is, to wish your Highness all honour and prosperity, for the which I do and daily shall pray. And whereas it pleaseth your Majesty to write that I make a challenge of a promise made otherwise than it was meant, the truth is, the promise could not be denied before your Majesty's presence at my last waiting upon the same. And although, I confess, the ground of faith (whereunto I take reason to be but an handmaid), and my conscience also, hath and do agree with the same, yet, touching that promise, for so much as it hath pleased your Majesty (God knoweth by whose persuasion) to write, "it was not so meant," I shall most humbly desire your Highness to examine the truth thereof indifferently, and either will your Majesty's ambassador now being with the Emperor, to inquire of the same, if it be your pleasure to have him move it, or else to cause it to be demanded of the Emperor's ambassador here, although he were not within this realm at that time. And thereby it shall appear that in this point I have not offended your Majesty, if it may please you so to accept it. And albeit your Majesty (God be praised) hath at these years as much understanding and more than is commonly seen in that age, yet, considering you do hear but one part (your Highness not offended), I would be a suitor to the same that till you were grown to more perfect years it might stand with your pleasure to stay in matters touching the soul. So, undoubtedly, should your Majesty know more, and hear others, and nevertheless be at your liberty, and do your will and pleasure. And whatsoever your Majesty hath conceived of me, either by letters to your Council or by their report, I trust in the end to prove myself as true to you as any subject within your realm; and will by no means stand in argument with your Majesty, but in most humble wise beseech you, even for God's sake, to suffer me as your Highness hath done hitherto. It is for no worldly respect I desire it, God is my judge; but rather than to offend my conscience I would desire of God to lose all that I have, and also my life, and nevertheless live and die your humble sister and true subject. Thus, after pardon craved of your Majesty, etc.

I have felt myself unable to abridge, except in mere formalities, this very earnest letter of a woman cruelly wounded in her most sacred feelings through the instrumentality of a young brother educated in unkindness by a political faction. Needless to say, her pleading was of no avail. And so it was that the Emperor's ambassador felt bound to put in a word for the ill-used Princess. It was on the 16th February, within a fortnight of the date of her letter to the King, that he obtained access to the Council and told them he had express commands from the Emperor to remind them of their promise to her. And as it is recorded, he had answer "that the Council would be advised upon the matter, and within three or four days give him an answer."[1]

The English ambassador at Brussels not allowed to use the new service.

Meanwhile, in January, another difference had arisen with the Emperor on the subject of religion. This was the complaint of Sir Thomas Chamberlain, noticed above, that he as ambassador was not allowed to use the English service at Brussels; upon which the Council notified to the Imperial ambassador in England that he must obtain liberty for him to do so, otherwise he himself would be put under restraint.[2] We need not wonder that the Emperor was very angry when Morysine, according to his instructions, actually demanded at one and the same time full religious liberty for the English envoy at Brussels and forbearance of the Emperor's request for religious liberty to his cousin Mary! Yet it was no use giving vent to his indignation—Charles knew that very well, as he had known it often before when he was checkmated by Henry VIII. or Wolsey. He was obliged to temper his wrath and leave his cousin unprotected. In March she left Beaulieu for London, having received a summons to come up. She entered the city on the 15th, riding through Smithfield and Cheapside from her place at St. John's, Clerkenwell, preceded by fifty knights and gentlemen in velvet coats wearing gold chains, and followed by a company of fourscore gentlemen and ladies, each having a pair of black beads. On the 17th she rode from St. John's through Fleet Street to the Court at Westminster with a great train. She was received at the Court gate by Sir Anthony Wingfield, Controller of the King's Household, and many lords and knights, and conducted through the hall into the presence chamber, where she had "a goodly banquet" and continued two hours.[1]

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[1] Dasent, iii. 215.

[2] Turnbull, i. 67, 75, 84.

Mary's interview with her brother.

During this time she had an interview with her brother, which Edward himself records in his Journal, misdating it 18th. But the following entries are of interest in connection with what we have already read:—

> 18*th* [17*th*].—The lady Mary my sister came to me to Westminster; where, after salutations she was called, with my Council, into a chamber; where was declared how long I had suffered her mass [against my will *was added at first but struck out afterwards*] in hope of her reconciliation, and how, now being no hope, which I perceived by her letters, except I saw some short amendment I could not bear it. She answered that her soul was God's, and her faith she would not change, nor dissemble her opinion with contrary doings. It was said, I constrained not her faith but willed her [not as a King to rule, but][2] as a subject to obey; and that her example might breed too much inconvenience.
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> 19*th* [*should be* 18*th*].—The Emperor's ambassador came with short message from his master, of war if I would not suffer the Princess to use her mass. To this was no answer given at this time.

What followed we know already. Nevertheless it is good to read it also in the words of the royal youth himself, so early disciplined in affairs of state:—

> The Bishops of Canterbury, London, Rochester, did conclude, to give licence to sin was sin; to suffer and wink at it for a time might be borne, so all haste possible might be used.

Then, immediately after:—

> 23*rd*.—The Council having the bishops' answers, seeing

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[1] Machyn's *Diary*, pp. 4, 5.

[2] Struck out by the King.

my subjects' lacking their vent in Flanders might put the whole realm in danger—the Flemings had cloth enough for a year in their hand, and were kept far under, the danger of the Papists, the 1500 cinqtales of powder I had in Flanders [bought, as it seems by an earlier entry, as consideration money to merchants for payment of a debt being deferred], the harness they had for the *gendarmerie*, the goods my merchants had there at the wool fleet,—decreed to send an ambassador to the Emperor, Mr. Wotton, to deny the matter wholly and persuade the Emperor in it, thinking by his going to win some time for a preparation of a mart, conveyance of powder, harness, etc., and for the surety of the realm. In the mean season, to punish the offenders, first of my servants that heard mass, next of hers.

This royal boy of thirteen has been painfully well instructed in the foreign politics of his time and the conditions which might make it safe, on the whole, to continue persecuting his sister's religion. Let us continue :—

22*nd*.[1]—Sir Anthony Browne sent to the Fleet for hearing mass, with Serjeant Morgan. Sir Clement Smith, which a year before heard mass, chidden.

It appears by the *Acts of the Privy Council* that Serjeant Morgan was committed to the Fleet on the 19th, having heard mass at St. John's two or three days before, "in the Lady Mary's house," as he could not excuse himself "because that, being a learned man, he should give so ill an example to others." Also that Sir Anthony Browne was committed on the 22nd for having given an equally ill example. Being examined by the Council whether he had of late heard any mass or not, he replied "that indeed twice or thrice at the Newhall [this was Beaulieu where the Princess sojourned], and once at Romford, now as my Lady Mary was coming hither about ten days past, he had heard mass."

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[1] The dates in the Journal are not quite consecutive as this follows the entry of the 23rd.

Once more let us resume the Journal :—

> 25*th*.—The ambassador of the Emperor came to have his answer, but had none, saving that one should go to the Emperor within a month or two to declare this matter.

Dr. Wotton was accordingly despatched in the middle of April to replace Morysine at the Emperor's court.[1]

And here we leave, for the present, the painful story of coercion applied to a princess, to examine a little further the way it was applied to a bishop.

Gardiner required to preach before the King in 1548.

The spiritual despotism which oppressed the King's sister and defied the Emperor's menaces had, as might well be supposed, a comparatively easy task in completing its injustice to Bishop Gardiner. We have seen already how cruelly that very honest-minded prelate suffered under the Government of Somerset; and yet we have passed by details which are important to the proper understanding of his position now. Anxious as he had been from the first to comply as far as he conscientiously could with what was really a new government even in Church matters, he had agreed to preach a sermon before the King on St. Peter's Day, the 29th June 1548, and make his own position clear as to recent acts of authority and how far they affected religion. He resisted, indeed, a demand that he should submit a written copy of his sermon to the Government before delivering it, or even give very definite pledges as to what he would say. But the day before his sermon he received an urgent letter from Somerset, ordering him to forbear speaking of "those principal points" which he was told were still under question among learned men of the realm about "the Sacrament of the Altar and the Mass," although he had expressly told Cecil that he could not leave those subjects untouched. Indeed, when Cecil discussed the matter with him he had frankly said he thought it would be unadvisable for the Protector to interfere in matters of religion, the responsibility of which, he considered, should be committed to the bishops. But in answer to this the Protector wrote to him in words significant of impending change. "For our intermeddling with these causes of religion, understand you that we account it no small part of our charge, under the King's Majesty, to bring his people from ignorance to knowledge, and from superstition to true religion, esteeming that the chiefest foundation to build obedience upon; and where there is a full consent of other the bishops and learned men in a truth, not to suffer you, or a few other wilful heads, to disorder all the rest."[1]

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[1] Turnbull, i. p. 87.

So the Protector was bent on remodelling religion by the advice of "other bishops and learned men" without interference of "wilful heads" like Gardiner and Bonner, and others, perhaps, who, whatever their renown in matters concerning their own profession, could not be expected to fall in with the views of those who were in Somerset's confidence. Gardiner received the letter between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, and it put him in great perplexity. It was not written in the name of the Council, but signed by Somerset only; and the message it contained was a command of doubtful obligation. He regretted indeed that such an order should have come from one "in that estate and degree in the commonwealth." But it set him to recast the sermon that he proposed to deliver; and his chief care, as he himself stated afterwards at his trial, "was how to utter the Catholic faith of the Sacrament of the Altar, which might not be omitted, and yet so as the words of the letter, although it were of no force, might be avoided, for the avoiding of all quarrel and contention."[2]

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[1] Foxe, vi. 86, 87.

[2] *Ib.* 69, 109, 110. Canon Dixon (ii. 520) seems strangely to have misread the meaning of this passage, when he says "Gardiner considered

So after receiving the Protector's letter, the Bishop "forgot to refresh his body," and neither ate, drank, nor slept till next day at five o'clock in the afternoon, when he had finished the composition of his sermon. He had given the Duke no reason to suppose that he had altered his expressed intention to speak about the Sacrament, and he intended still to do so, but he believed he had got the matter of his sermon into such a form that he could not be justly charged with disobeying even Somerset's letter. For he was only enjoined in that letter to refrain "from treating of any matter in controversy concerning the said sacrament and the mass"; and as yet there was no matter in controversy on that subject that he knew of. He was really seeking to keep clear of anything that could reasonably be called in question. In point of fact, the sermon itself—a very long one, which may be read to this day in Foxe's book [1]—fully bears out what Gardiner himself declares as to his anxiety to avoid matter of offence. The greater part might almost have been written by a Protestant.

His sermon.

It begins, indeed, with what is no doubt a subtle test of Catholicity of doctrine; but this is given in a way to which no one could take exception. The text was Matt. xvi. 13, from the Gospel of the day containing St. Peter's confession "Thou art the Christ," etc., and the preacher noted first, the diversity of opinions among the people brought out by our Lord's question "Whom do men say that I, the Son of Man, am?" He remarked that Peter spoke for all the Apostles, and they all agreed with him. Yet the opinions of others were honourable and not slanderous. They thought Him Elijah or John the Baptist, Jeremiah or one of the Prophets. But there were some who spoke evil of Him, saying that He was a glutton and a wine-

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this letter [of Somerset] to be a positive prohibition; but he resolved to disobey it." Clearly the meaning is that the Bishop studied carefully how not to infringe a command which he nevertheless thought unwarrantable.

[1] *Acts and Mon.*, vi. 87-93.

bibber, that He had a devil, that He deceived the people, and so forth. But He did not ask any questions of these persons, for no one of them agreed with another. All who were not of Christ's school erred somehow or other, even when they meant well. Pride is a hindrance to docility and leads men into sects. But all who confessed Jesus as the Christ, whatever words they used, confessed Him as the Son of the living God, and agreed entirely with each other. Further on the preacher distinctly commended the recent changes so far as they had gone, and admits the abuses at which they were aimed. And notwithstanding the words of his text, "Thou art the Christ," he distinctly denied that our Lord's words immediately following gave any good ground for papal supremacy. Peter was only the first that made this confession, and the first man in a quest is not always the best man in it. Christ had even addressed Peter as Satan once. The preacher confessed it was a great alteration to renounce the Bishop of Rome's authority, but he agreed in that renunciation. It was a great alteration when abbeys were dissolved, and another when images were pulled down. But to these things too he had consented. "And yet," he said, "I have been counted a maintainer of superstition." He had promised to declare his conscience, and he would do so. About ceremonies he had never been of any other opinion than he was then—that they were good while they helped to move men to serve God; but when men were in bondage to them it was an abuse. The monastic orders had fallen away from the good object for which they were first instituted, and they had been dissolved. "But one thing King Henry would not take away; that was the vow of chastity." There were things in the Church which the ruler might order as he saw fit. And there were things like baptism and preaching in which abuses might be reformed, but the things themselves could not be taken away. Images, pilgrimages, and shrines had been abolished on account of their abuses, and when they did not serve their original purpose but promoted idolatry, it was right to take them away. Gardiner might be told that he had defended images, and it was true he had preached against such as despised them, holding that images might be suffered in church as laymen's books. "But now that men be waxed wanton, they are clean taken away," and this is no injury to religion any more than taking away books when they are abused.

Towards the close, he tells his audience plainly what he likes and dislikes. "I like well the communion," he says, "because it provoketh men more and more to devotion. I like well the proclamation, because it stoppeth the mouths of all such as unreverently speak or rail against the Sacrament. I like well the rest of the King's Majesty's proceedings concerning the Sacrament." But he will be equally explicit about what he dislikes. "I mislike that preachers which preach by the King's licence, and those readers which, by the King's permission and sufferance, do read open lectures, do openly and blasphemously talk against the mass and against the Sacrament. . . . To speak so against the Sacrament, it is the most marvellous matter that ever I saw or heard of." He disliked also "that priests and men that vowed chastity should openly marry and avow it openly; which is a thing that since the beginning of the Church hath not been seen in any time, that men that have been admitted to any ecclesiastical administration should marry. We read of married priests, that is to say, of married men chosen to be priests and ministers in the Church; and in Epiphanius we read that some such, for necessity, were winked at. But that men, being priests already, should marry was never seen in Christ's Church from the beginning of the Apostles' time."

Surely a sermon like this deserved somewhat more respect than to be treated afterwards by a triumphant faction as mere evidence "of the corrupt and blind ignorance of this bishop, with his dissembling and double-face doings in matters of religion"![1] It may be that, under the strain put upon him, Gardiner carried compliance a slight degree further than in his heart he altogether relished; but he was guilty here of no deviation from rectitude—none, at least, that his enemies had any right to make ground of accusation against him. He himself believed, and his friends believed also, that no exception could be taken to his sermon, and that he was now out of his trouble. He had a quiet and attentive hearing.[2] Nevertheless, Sir Anthony Wingfield arrived next day with the guard at the Bishop's stairs, and conveyed him to the Tower, Sir Ralph Sadler, who came with Sir Anthony, explaining that it was for disobedience to the Protector's letter.[3]

Steps taken for his deprivation.

But now, two years after this sermon, the object was simply to deprive him of his bishopric of Winchester and fill up his place with one of the New Learning. It was felt necessary, however, to proceed with some appearance of legality. Gardiner was one of the best lawyers and casuists of his time; and though after his deprivation they could easily keep him in prison, as they did, and cut him off from intercourse with the world outside, they must take care that he should have such a trial as might seem to afford a sufficient pretext. The first steps taken with this end in view appear clearly from the Privy Council Register, and the entries are actually quoted in Foxe's "Book of Martyrs" as if they were the most righteous proceedings possible. That the reader may form his own judgment upon that matter I shall be equally careful to lay the exact text of these entries before him:—

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[1] Foxe, vi. 93. [2] *Ib.* 129. [3] *Ib.* 111.

At Greenwich, the 8th of June 1550. [Here follow the names of the Councillors present, viz.]

The Duke of Somerset, the Archbishop of Canterbury [*i.e.* Cranmer], the Lord Treasurer [Paulet, Earl of Wiltshire], the Lord Privy Seal [Russell, Earl of Bedford], the Lord Great Chamberlain [Lord Wentworth], the Lord Admiral [Clinton], the Bishop of Ely [Goodrich], the Lord Cobham, Mr. Comptroller [*i.e.* of the Household, Sir Anthony Wingfield], Master of the Horses [Sir William Herbert, made Earl of Pembroke next year], Mr. Secretary Petre, Sir Edward North.

Considering the long imprisonment that the Bishop of Winchester hath sustained, it was now thought time he should be spoken withal, and agreed that if he repented his former obstinacy and would henceforth apply himself to advance the King's Majesty's proceedings, his Highness in this case would be his good lord to remit all his errors past. Otherwise his Majesty was resolved to proceed against him as his obstinacy and contempt required. For the declaration whereof the Duke of Somerset, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Great Chamberlain, and Mr. Secretary Petre were appointed the next day to repair unto him.[1]

He is asked to approve the King's proceedings;

At this date the situation is plain enough. To reclaim, even now, from "his obstinacy" such a one as Bishop Gardiner would clearly be a great thing for the Government, if his long experience of imprisonment would only induce him to "repent" and approve the King's Majesty's proceedings. The Earl of Warwick was behind the scenes and does not appear to have been present at this meeting of the Council, nor at any other of those about to be mentioned except that of the 8th July; but there is little doubt they were carrying out his policy. I shall not quote the list of councillors present in these further minutes.

At Greenwich, the 10th of June 1550.

Report was made by the Duke of Somerset and the rest sent to the Bishop of Winchester, that he desired to see the King's Book of Proceedings; upon the sight whereof he would make a full answer, seeming to be willing in all things to conform himself thereunto, and promising that in case anything offended his conscience he would open it to none but to the Council. Whereupon it was agreed the Book should be sent him, to see his answer, that his case might be resolved upon; and that for the meantime he should have the liberty of the gallery and garden in the Tower when the Duke of Norfolk were absent.

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[1] See here and elsewhere Dasent's *Acts of the Privy Council* (vol. iii.) under date.

A slight relief to the poor prisoner, who will now be able to take a little airing when his fellow-prisoner, the Duke of Norfolk, is not doing so. Gardiner, it will be seen, has made the utmost concession that he reasonably can under the circumstances. Three days later, when he had seen the book, his answer is reported as follows:—

> At Greenwich, the 13th of June 1550.
>
> This day the lieutenant of the Tower, who before was appointed to deliver the King's Book unto the Bishop of Winchester, declared unto the Council that the Bishop, having perused it, said unto him he could make no direct answer unless he were at liberty, and so being he would say his conscience. Whereupon the Lords and other that had been with him the other day were appointed to go to him again to receive a direct answer, that the Council thereupon might determine further order for him.

but can make no direct answer till he is free.

What an inconvenient conscience this Bishop has! But, of course, it is sheer obstinacy; for whoever would say a good thing of Bishop Gardiner? Not the Government of that day certainly, nor Foxe the Martyrologist, nor the Protestant historians who have followed Foxe. Yet he seems to have been anxious to satisfy the Government if he could, and he could hardly have relished continued imprisonment. But the result was as follows:—

> At Westminster, the 8th of July 1550.
>
> This day the Bishop of Winchester's case was renewed upon the report of the Lords that had been with him, that his answers were ever doubtful, refusing while he were in prison

to make any direct answer. Wherefore it was determined he should be directly examined whether he would sincerely conform himself unto the King's Majesty's proceedings or not; for which purpose it was agreed that particular Articles should be drawn to see whether he would subscribe them or not; and a letter also directed unto him from the King's Highness, with the which the lord Treasurer, the lord Great Master [Earl of Warwick], the Master of the Horses, and the Secretary Petre should repair unto him, the tenor of which letter hereafter ensueth:—

By the King.

It is not, we think, unknown unto you with what clemency and favor We, by the advice of our Council, caused you to be heard and used, upon those sundry complaints and informations that were made to us and our said Council of your disordered doings and words, both at the time of our late Visitation and otherwise. Which notwithstanding, considering that the favor, both then and many other times ministered unto you wrought rather an insolent wilfulness in yourself than any obedient conformity, such as would have beseemed a man of your vocation, We could not but use some demonstration of justice towards you, as well for such notorious and apparent contempt and other inobediences as after and contrary to our commandment were openly known in you, as also for some example and terror of such others as by your example seemed to take courage to mutter and grudge against our most godly proceedings, whereof great discord and inconvenience, at that time, might have ensued. For the avoiding whereof, and for your just deservings, you were by our said Council committed to ward; where albeit We have suffered you to remain a long space, sending unto you the mean time, at sundry times, divers of the noblemen and others of our Privy Council, and travailing by them with clemency and favor to have reduced you to the knowledge of your duty; yet in all this time have you neither [ac]knowledged your faults nor made any such submission as might have beseemed you, nor yet showed any appearance, either of repentance or of any good conformity to our godly proceedings. Wherewith albeit We both have good cause to be offended, and might also justly by the order of our laws cause your former doings to be reformed and punished to the example of others; yet for that We would both the world and yourself also should know that We delight more in clemency than in the strait administration of justice, We have vouchsafed not only to address unto you these our letters, but also to send eftsoons unto you four of our Privy Council with certain Articles, which being by us with the advice of our said Council, considered, We think requisite, for sundry considerations, to be subscribed by you; and therefore will and command you to subscribe the said Articles, upon pain of incurring such punishments and penalties as by our laws may be put upon you for not doing the same. Given at our Palace of Westminster, the 8th day of July, the fourth year of our reign,

And subscribed by

E. Somerset; W. Wiltesh.; J. Warwyk;
J. Bedford; W. Northt; E. Clynton;
G. Cobham; William Pagett; A. Wingfeld;
W. Herbert; William Petre; Edward Northe.

Gardiner must have fully appreciated the painful irony of this letter. It was "not unknown" to him, indeed, "with what clemency and favor" he had been sent to prison and kept in prison, for even expressing a doubt about a Royal Visitation which he was ready to have obeyed if it had only been found legal. And now it was to be seen whether he had yet been schooled into full and implicit obedience. On the 9th July, the day after the date of this royal letter, he was visited by the four lords of the Council referred to, of whom Warwick, "the Great Master," was one, who brought him six Articles for signature in the following terms:—

Six Articles are brought to him to sign,

I. That by the law of God and the authority of Scripture, the King's Majesty and his successors are the Supreme Heads of the Churches of England, and also of Ireland.

II. Item, that the appointing of holy days and fasting days, as Lent, Ember days, or any such like, or to dispense therewith, is in the King's Majesty's authority and power; and his Highness as Supreme Head of the said Churches of England and Ireland, and Governor thereof, may appoint the manner and time of the holy days and fasting, or dispense therewith, as to his wisdom shall seem most convenient, for the honor of God and the wealth of this Realm.

III. That the King's Majesty hath most Christianly and godly set forth, by and with the consent of the whole Parliament, a devout and Christian book of service of the Church, to be frequented in the Church, which book is to be accepted and allowed of all bishops, pastors, curates, and all ministers ecclesiastical of the realm of England, and so of them to be declared and commended in all places where they shall fortune to preach or speak to the people of it, that it is a godly and Christian book and order, and to be allowed, accepted and observed of all the King's Majesty's true subjects.

IV. I do acknowledge that the King's Majesty that now is (whose life God long preserve!) to be my Sovereign and Lord and Supreme Head under Christ to me, as a bishop of this realm, and natural subject to his Majesty, and now in this his young and tender age, to be my full and entire King; and that I, and all other his Highness's subjects, are bound to obey all his Majesty's proclamations, statutes, laws, and commandments, made, promulgated and set forth in this his Highness's young age, as well as though his Highness were at this present thirty or forty years old.

V. Item, I confess and acknowledge that the Statute, commonly called the Statute of the Six Articles, for just causes and grounds is, by authority of Parliament, repealed and disannulled.

VI. Item, that his Majesty and his successors have authority in the said Churches of England and also of Ireland, to alter, reform, correct, and amend all errors and abuses, and all rites and ceremonies ecclesiastical, as shall seem from time to time to his Highness and his successors most convenient for the edification of his people; so that the same alteration be not contrary or repugnant to the Scripture and law of God.

To the text of these articles as they stand in Foxe are added the words, "Subscribed by Stephen Winchester, with the testimonial hands of the Council to the same," which would certainly suggest that the Articles were thus prepared for signature, with a clause at the end to say that they were actually signed by Gardiner, and his signature witnessed by the Council, meaning, presumably, by the four Lords deputed to procure it from him. This, however, was not exactly the case, though it does appear that Gardiner really signed them, in a manner to be seen presently. But we must note in the first place that there was a preamble to these articles which we have not yet quoted, drawn up expressly in his own name, and containing weightier matter than all the rest, which they expected Gardiner to sign along with them. It was in these words:—

with a preamble which he could not sign.

> Whereas I, Stephen, Bishop of Winchester, have been suspected as one too much favoring the Bishop of Rome's authority, decrees and ordinances, and as one that did not approve or allow the King's Majesty's proceedings in alteration of certain rites of religion, and was convented before the King's Highness's Council and admonished thereof; and having certain things appointed for me to do and preach for my declaration, have not done that as I ought to do, although I promised to do the same; whereby I have not only incurred the King's Majesty's indignation, but also divers of his Highness's subjects, have by mine example taken encouragement (as His Grace's Council is certainly informed) to repine at his Majesty's most godly proceedings, I am right sorry therefor and acknowledge myself condignly to have been punished, and do most heartily thank his Majesty that of his great clemency it hath pleased his Highness to deal with me, not according to rigor but mercy. And to the intent it may appear to the world how little I do repine at his Highness's doings, which be in religion most godly and to the common wealth most prudent, I do affirm and say freely, of mine own will without any compulsion, as ensueth.

This Gardiner could not conscientiously sign. The four lords visited him in the Tower, and gave him the King's letters, which he received upon his knees and kissed as duty required him. He continued on his knees while he read them, although they urged him "to go apart with them and consider them." Having finished reading them, he himself says, "I much lamented that I should be commanded to say of myself as was there written, and to say otherwise of myself than my conscience will suffer me, and where I trust my deeds will not condemn me, there to condemn myself with my tongue. I should sooner, quoth I to them, by commandment, I think, if ye would bid me, tumble myself desperately into the Thames."[1]

Seeing him "in that agony" Warwick asked what he said to the other articles. "I answered," continues the Bishop, "that I was loth to disobey where I might obey and not wrest my conscience, destroying the comfort of it, as to say untruly of myself. 'Well,' quoth my Lord of Warwick, 'will ye subscribe to the other articles?' I told him I would; 'but then,' quoth I, 'the article which toucheth me must be put out.' I was answered, that needeth not, for I might write on the side what I would say unto it. And then my Lord of Warwick entertained me very gently, and would needs, whiles I should write, have me sit down by him. And when he saw me make somewhat strange so to do, he pulled me nearer him, and said we had or this sat together, and trusted we should do so again. And then, having pen and ink given me, I wrote, as I remember, on the article that touched me these words: 'I cannot with my conscience say this of myself,' or such like words. And there followed an article of the King's Majesty's primacy, and I began to write on the side of that, and had made an 'I' onward, as may appear by the articles. And they would not have me do so, but write only my name after their articles; which I did. Whereat, because they showed themselves pleased and content, I was bold to tell them merrily that by this means I had placed my subscription above them all. And thereupon it pleased them to entertain me, much to my comfort."

He agrees, however, to sign the Articles themselves, noting his objection to the preamble;

but is forbidden to make any comment on them.

The Councillors had gained their point. What with coercion of imprisonment, what with appeal to his sense of the duty of obedience in all things lawful, what with Warwick's wheedling and insinuating manner, they had succeeded in obtaining Gardiner's signature to the articles, though not to the preamble, and they would not allow him to qualify his assent to the articles. As to the preamble, what he wrote in the margin, following Warwick's suggestion, was, "I cannot in my conscience confess the preface, knowing myself to be of that sort I am indeed and ever have been."[1] But we must let the Bishop continue his tale:—

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[1] Foxe, vi. 73, 80-81, 115, 178.

> And I was bold to recount unto them merry tales of my misery in prison, which they seemed content to hear. And then I told them also (desiring them not to be miscontent with that I should say) when I remembered each of them alone, I could not think otherwise but they were my good lords; and yet, when they met together, I feel no remedy at their hands. "I looked," quoth I, "when my lord of Somerset was here, to go out within two days, and made my farewell feast in the Tower and all; since which time there is a month passed, or thereabout; and I agreed with them, and now agree with you, and I may fortune to be forgotten." My Lord Treasurer said, Nay, I should hear from them the next day; and so, by their special commandment, I came out of the chamber after them, that they might be seen to depart as my good lords. And so was done. By which process appeareth how there was in me no contempt, as is said, in this article, but such a subscription made as they were content to suffer me to make. Which I took in my conscience for a whole satisfaction of the King's Majesty's letters; which I desire may be deemed accordingly. And one thing was said unto me further:—that other[s] would have put in many more articles; but they would have no more than those.[2]

Surely this gives us a very different notion of Bishop Gardiner from that which we have learned from the descriptions of his enemies, too readily believed by historians! Here is no turbulent prelate and senseless bigot, but an ill-used bishop, remarkably patient in adversity, and mild in his language. The most consistent politician of the day, even he refuses to contest a point to the utmost, but subscribes even more than he likes. Under Henry VIII.'s tyranny he had certainly yielded too much, and things were bad enough now, for even concession did not mitigate his lot. But he would not at least accuse himself unjustly to please Edward's Council.

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[1] See *Acts of the Privy Council*, iii. 67.

[2] Foxe, vi. 73, 74, 116.

His answer was reported next day, 10th July, to the Council; and on the 11th we find the following minute:—

The Council demand of him more complete submission.

> This day the Bishop of Winchester's case was debated. And because it appeareth that he sticketh upon the submission, which is the principallest point, considering his defences that he now goeth about to defend, to the intent he should have no just cause to say that he was not mercifully handled, it was agreed that the Master of the Horses and Mr. Secretary Petre should repair unto him again with the same submission, exhorting him to look better upon it, and in case the words seem too sore, then to refer it unto himself in what sort and with what words he should devise to submit him, that upon the acknowledging of his fault the King's Highness might extend his mercy and liberality towards him as it was determined.

The result of this appears in a minute of the 13th as follows:—

> The Master of the Horses and Mr. Secretary Petre made report that they had been with the Bishop of Winchester, who stood precisely in justification of himself that he had never offended the King's Majesty, wherefore he utterly refused to make any submission at all.[1] For the more surety

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[1] In his own account of the matter "the Bishop answered that he knew himself innocent, and for him to do anything therein by his words or writing it could have no policy in it; for if he did more esteem liberty of body than defamation of himself, he said, yet, when he had so done with them, he was not assured by them to come out; for and he were by his own pen made a naughty man, yet then he were not the more sure to come out, but had locked himself the more surely in; and a small pleasure it were for him to have his body at liberty by their procurement, and to have his conscience in a perpetual prison by his own act. And after divers other words and persuasions made by the said Sir William Harbert and Sir William Peter, the said Bishop, having just cause, required them for the Passion of God that his matter might take end by justice."—Foxe, vi. 116.

of which denial it was agreed that a new book of Articles should be devised, wherewith the said Master of the Horses and Mr. Secretary should repair unto him again, and for the more authentic proceeding with him, they to have with them a divine and a temporal lawyer, which were the Bishop of London [Ridley] and Mr. Goderick.

Twenty Articles more required of him.

Gardiner was undeniably right when he told the councillors sent to him four days before, that though he had then, as on previous occasions, come to an understanding with them, he might again "fortune to be forgotten." And as to the intimation made to him then, that some councillors would have put in more articles, but they had restricted them to the six actually administered, he was now, it seems, to get the benefit of all the others. His assent was required to a set of no less than twenty articles, with almost the same objectionable preamble as before. In substance they amounted to nothing less than a complete and cordial acceptance of a great religious revolution in which he had never been consulted. They included, indeed, some things done in the last reign to which he had agreed, such as the suppression of the monasteries, the abolition of superstitious rights and vows, pilgrimages, chantries, and so forth; and with these the foolish "counterfeiting of St. Nicholas" and other saints by children. But he was also to approve of the reading of the whole Bible in English by every man. The Mass was justly taken away and the Communion Service substituted. All Christians should partake in both kinds, and the Sacrament should not be lifted up or showed to the people. All the old service books should be "abolished and defaced." Bishops, priests, and deacons should be free to marry, and all canons against their doing so abolished. The homilies lately put forth by the King were godly and wholesome. The new ordinal for consecrating bishops, priests, and deacons was in "no point contrary to the wholesome doctrine of the

Gospel." The minor orders were unnecessary. Holy Scripture contained all doctrine necessary for salvation. The *Paraphrase* of Erasmus in English had been, "on good and godly considerations," ordered to be set up in churches for general reading. And as these matters had been set forth by the Council for the general good, the Bishop was to affirm them by his subscription, and declare himself willing to publish and preach them as required.[1]

Now to us moderns a good many of these articles will naturally seem right enough. But the question is, Had they who thought so a right to force a new religion—for such it virtually was—on those who disapproved them? One of the saddest things about this persecution was that it was after all not very sincere on the part of some of the agents—at all events upon that of Dudley. This was seen three years later, when there was a wonderful change of places. Dudley, who had become Duke of Northumberland, lay under sentence of death; and Bishop Gardiner, being high in the new Sovereign's favour, and forgetting old injuries, was his most compassionate and kindly friend. Then, in those last moments, Dudley, when he knew that there was nothing for him but death by the axe, asked forgiveness of all whom he had offended, confessed that for sixteen years he had been misled by false preachers, and called every one to bear witness that he looked upon the Sacrament as his Saviour. In fact, we have other evidences, and very marked testimony in the words of Rogers, the first Protestant martyr,[2] that the establishment

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[1] Foxe, vi. 82-4.

[2] Of the examinations of this very honest martyr taken in January 1556 he left an account written in his own hand, which Foxe has very imperfectly followed. But one of the most interesting things in this statement is not so much what he actually did say, as what he intended to say; for he had written out beforehand a whole speech which he was not allowed to deliver. Of this speech which he was prepared to have addressed to his judges an extract has already been given on a previous page. But a larger extract, including the same passage, may here be appreciated:—

"As in Henry the Eighth's days ye in your Parliaments followed only of the new religion was against the real feeling, even of the Parliaments that authorised it. No doubt it suited some of the Court circle, as, for example, Marbeck the musician, who in Henry VIII.'s time had spoken strongly against the mass in defiance of existing law.[1] But it was not the religion of the people generally, and still less was it that of most learned divines.

No one, indeed, will imagine that a mere political plotter like Dudley was the author of a new religion. On that subject we may give him the benefit of his own words, that for sixteen years before his death he had been led, or misled, by preachers of the new school. The real author of the theology which it was now sought to enforce was undoubtedly Cranmer, the Metropolitan of Canterbury; and he naturally felt it incumbent on his office to set up a standard of doctrine which all his suffragans should accept without demur. That among them he would find in Gardiner a most formidable opponent was evident from the first; and this was shown more clearly than ever before the close of the year.

The twenty articles were presented to Gardiner on the 14th, and on the 15th we again read in the Privy Council Register:—

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his will and pleasure, even to grant the Queen's Majesty [Mary] to be a bastard (God it well knoweth, against your wills, and as ye well know, against the wills of the whole realm for the most part, and that of all states, rich and poor, spiritual and temporal, gentle and ungentle, etc.), likewise the taking away of the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, with other mo things not a few; even so in King Edward's days did the most part of the learned of the clergy (against their wills, as it doth now appear) set their hands to the marriage of priests (as deans and archdeacons, doctors and masters of colleges, to the number of seventy or thereabouts, and the most part of the bishops), to the alteration of the service into English, and to the taking away of the positive laws which before had prohibited the said marriage; this, I say, they did for the Duke of Somerset's and others of the King's executors' pleasure. Likewise, when the Duke of Somerset was beheaded, and the Duke of Northumberland began to rule the roast, look what he would desire, that he had, specially in his last Parliament. So that what his will was to be enacted, that was enacted."—Chester's *John Rogers*, pp. 319, 320.

[1] See Vol. II. 386.

Report was made by the Master of the Horses and Mr. Secretary Petre that they, with the Bishop of London and Mr. Goderick, had been with the Bishop of Winchester and offered him the foresaid Articles, according to the Council's order. Whereunto the same Bishop of Winchester made answer that, first, to the article of submission he would in nowise consent, affirming, as he had done before, that he had never offended the King's Majesty in any sort as should give him cause thus to submit himself; praying earnestly to be brought unto his trial, wherein he refused the King's mercy, and desired nothing but justice.[1] And for the rest of the articles, he answered that after he were past his trial in this first point and were at liberty, then it should appear what he would do in them; not being, as he said, reasonable he should subscribe them in prison.

As to one of which he again refuses to criminate himself by submission; the others he will answer to when at liberty.

Whereupon it was agreed that he should be sent for before the whole Council, and peremptorily examined once again whether he would stand at this point or no; which if he did, then to denounce unto him the sequestration of his benefice, and consequently the intimation, in case he were not reformed within three months, as in the day of his appearance shall appear.

Things were now coming to a crisis; but before the last steps were taken the Council thought it necessary to seek the royal presence and strengthen themselves with the boy King's authority for what they were going to do. We accordingly read further:—

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[1] To quote his own account again:—"Whereupon the said Bishop most instantly required them that the matter might be tried by justice, which, although it were some time more grievous, yet it hath a commodity with it that it endeth certainly the matter. And because he could come to no assured state, he was loth to meddle with any more articles, or trouble himself with them; and yet because they desired him so instantly, he was content to read them: and so did read them, and (to show still his perfect obedience and obedient mind) offered that, incontinently upon his deliverance out of prison, he would make answer to them all, such as he would abide by and suffer pain for if he deserved it. Finally, his request was, that they would in this form make his answer to the Lords of the Council in effect as followeth, namely, That the said Bishop most humbly thanketh them for their good will to deliver him by way of mercy; but because of respect of his innocent conscience he had rather have justice. He desired them (seeing both were in the King's Majesty's hands) that he might have *it* which, if it happened to be more grievous unto him, he would impute it to himself, and evermore thank them for their good will."—Foxe, vi. 116.

At Westminster, the 19th July 1550.

This day the Council had access unto the King's Majesty for divers causes, but specially for the Bishop of Winchester's matter, who this day was therefore appointed to be before the Council; and there having declared unto his Highness the circumstance of their proceedings with the Bishop, his Majesty commanded that if he would this day also stand to his wonted obstinacy, the Council should then proceed to the immediate sequestration of his Bishopric, and consequently to the intimation.

Upon this the Bishop of Winchester was brought before the Council, and there the Articles before mentioned read unto him distinctly and with good deliberation; whereunto he refused either to subscribe or consent,[1] and thereupon was both the sequestration and intimation read unto him.

Sequestration of his bishopric ordered.

Then follows the exact form of "the sequestration and intimation" read to him, in which the act is justified by his disobedience to the King's command to subscribe the articles sent to him and express his willingness to publish and preach them whenever and wherever he should be required. The Council informed him that they had a special commission from the King to hear and determine his "manifold contempts and disobediences." They therefore asked him once more whether he would obey the King or not. He replied that he would gladly obey in all things lawful, but there were divers things required of him that his conscience would not bear. On this they told him that they were commissioned to sequester the fruits of his bishopric for one month from the first monition, one month from the second monition, and one month from the third and peremptory monition; within which he might still declare his conformity by writing, otherwise he would be deprived of his bishopric as an incorrigible person.

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[1] Such was the official record,—simply that he refused either to subscribe or consent. His own account of the matter was, however, that he was asked whether he would subscribe or no; and that "making humble answer on his knees," he replied: "For the Passion of God I require you to be my good lords, and let me be tried by justice, whether I be in fault or no; and as for these articles, as soon as you deliver me to liberty I will make answer to them, and abide such pain as the answer deserveth, if it deserve any." Further pressed, he said they were articles of divers natures, some of them "laws which he might not qualify," some "no laws, but learning and fact, which might have divers understandings, and that a subscription to them without telling and declaring what he meant were over dangerous; and that therefore he required a copy of the said articles, and offered for the more evident declaration of his obedience to all their requests—in effect, that although he were a prisoner and not at liberty, yet if they would deliver him the articles to have into prison with him, he would shortly make them particular answers, and suffer the pains of the law that by his answer he should incur, if the same were worthy of any pain." But this offer they would not accept, and treated it as a point blank refusal.—Foxe, vi. 117.

A significant note was made upon this by the Council:—

> Nevertheless, upon divers good considerations, and specially in hope he might within his time be yet reconciled, it was agreed that the said Bishop's house and servants should be maintained in their present estate until the time of this intimation should expire, *and the matter for the mean time to be kept secret.*

Men armed even with despotic power did not wish the public to learn too soon that they were resolved to deprive a bishop merely for not making an untrue confession against himself, and renouncing principles which he and his contemporaries had hitherto held sacred. And they did not even venture to adhere to their determination to take further proceedings at the end of three months; for they were stopped by an appeal from the prisoner, and nothing more was done till December, when a commission was issued for his trial and deprivation. And all those months he in vain solicited his jailors to obtain for him a further hearing till the day and hour he was summoned for the final process.[1] Meanwhile he and Cranmer

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[1] Faith, apparently, was not kept with him even as to the terms of his sequestration. For at the end of each of the three months he was to have been offered pen and ink with freedom to consult with other learned men on his position. But he was kept fast in prison without being offered pen and ink or any such opportunity for nearly six months. The eighth day after the decree he protested its nullity before his own servants, and declared, if it were law, he would intimate an appeal at the first opportunity. This protest and appeal, moreover, he succeeded in getting intimated to Cranmer and the other Commissioners at Lambeth. (Foxe, vi. 76, 117, 118.) Elsewhere (*ib.* p. 132) he says, "which time of three months ran not, because it was suspended by his appellation made from the sequestration."

—representing respectively the spirit of religious conservatism and religious revolution—had come into collision in literature.

As we have seen already, Cranmer had clearly declared in the House of Lords his change of view on the Eucharist as early as the end of the year 1548; and theologians of the new school were delighted. Bishop Hooper, indeed, was not altogether satisfied with him even in this matter; for a year and a half later, in June 1550, he expressed himself to Bullinger in words which seem so to imply. "Canterbury," he wrote, "has relaxed much of his Lutheranism—whether all of it, I cannot say. He is not so decided as I could wish, and dares not, I fear, assert his opinion in all respects."[1] But Hooper was at that time doing all he could, and with some success, through the medium of earls, marquises and dukes, on whom he waited for the purpose, to bring the King under the influence of his beloved Swiss divine; and apparently he found the Primate not so warm as he could wish. Nor was this at all surprising; for at this time he was disgusted that Cranmer declined to consecrate him as bishop without what he called superstition.[2] Hooper was certainly not the man to form an impartial estimate of the mind of Cranmer.

Cranmer's book on the Sacrament.

In point of fact, just at the time Hooper wrote, Cranmer's great work in justification of his sacramental doctrine was either published or was on the eve of publication, for it appeared in this year 1550. It was entitled, "A Defence of the true and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, with a confutation of sundry errors concerning the same; grounded and stablished upon God's Holy Word, and approved by the consent of the most ancient Doctors of the Church. Made by the Most Reverend Father in God, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of All England and

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[1] *Original Letters*, p. 89.

[2] *Ib.* p. 567.

Metropolitan." Underneath this title was a woodcut of the Last Supper, and below that was the text (here copied *literatim*): "Yt ys the spirite that giveth lyfe, the fleshe profiteth nothinge. Ioannis 6." On the obverse of the title-page it is stated that the book is divided into five parts: 1. "Of the true Catholic doctrine and use of the Sacrament"; 2. "Against the error of Transubstantiation"; 3. "The manner how Christ is present in his Holy Supper"; 4. "Of the eating and drinking of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ"; 5. "Of the oblation and sacrifice of our Saviour Christ."

It is scarcely necessary to say more of the contents of the book. In the preface it is rather offensively said that the Romish Antichrist taught that Christ's sacrifice on the Cross was not sufficient without another sacrifice "devised by him and made by the priest, or else without indulgences, beads, pardons, pilgrimages, and such other pelfray, to supply Christ's imperfection; and that Christian people cannot apply to themselves the benefits of Christ's Passion, but that the same is in the distribution of the Bishop of Rome; or else that by Christ we have no full remission, but be delivered only from sin, and yet remaineth temporal pain in Purgatory due for the same, to be remitted after this life by the Romish Antichrist and his ministers, who take upon them to do for us that thing which Christ either would not or could not do." The writer goes on to show that in England the face of religion has been happily changed by the King and his father. Monks and friars are clean taken away, the Scripture restored, and so forth. But two chief roots of corruption remain not yet pulled up—the Popish doctrine of Transubstantiation—of the real presence of Christ's flesh and blood in the Sacrament, "and of the sacrifice and oblation of Christ made by the priest for the salvation of the quick and dead." These, if suffered to grow again, would cover the whole ground once more with the old errors and superstitions, and the writer, not knowing else how to excuse himself at the last day, has set to with axe to cut down the Tree of superstition and root out the weeds.

His reticence in the past.

No one will doubt for a moment that Cranmer was giving free utterance to the belief which he had long entertained, but had felt it necessary for years to suppress. Nor was his suppression of it in past times altogether dishonest. From our Reformers' point of view, Henry VIII. was Head of the Church, and had the ultimate decision on points of doctrine so long as he lived. Cranmer himself, as we have seen,[1] even when asked his opinion on questions of theology, gave it with great deference, not presuming that his own view must be considered authoritative. But when the old Head of the Church was dead, and his functions had descended to a boy with councillors both in secular and spiritual matters, who could doubt that in spiritual matters the Archbishop of Canterbury took the lead? The theory that there was to be no innovation in spiritual things during the minority had little to say for itself in a revolutionary time; and Cranmer doubtless did the best he could do. Moreover, in justice to his own sincere belief, he could not mince matters. Conversations with Ridley and with John à Lasco had only led him to the conviction that his own natural belief was shared so largely by English and foreign divines who rejected the papacy, that it was the true Catholic belief on a subject of high importance; and the answers of leading English divines to his questions at least did nothing to shake him in that opinion.

None the less was it an amazing thing for an Archbishop of Canterbury to condemn outright in this fashion the eucharistic doctrine of a long line of predecessors. Very naturally, it was not thought

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[1] Vol. II. pp. 343-4.

Gardiner answers his book.

decent; and Bishop Gardiner, though in prison, found means to write, and even to publish, a very energetic protest. The outrage, indeed, came home to him personally in a way it did to no one else, as he could not but feel that it was nothing but his sacramental belief that had troubled the Council when he preached before the King on St. Peter's Day 1548. They had, at that time, used every effort to deter him from touching upon the subject in his sermon; and he had seen evidences, even then, that the old sacramental belief was treated by the Council as doubtful. Moreover, he was actually pointed at by name in Cranmer's book. But in answering it he thinks it unnecessary to treat the work as really that of the Archbishop, whose name may possibly, he suggests, have been abused, "being a thing greatly to be marvelled at that such matter should now be published out of my lord of Canterbury's pen"—a man of such dignity and authority in the commonwealth. Irony like this was no more than natural from a respectful adherent of the old faith; but it could have done nothing to conciliate the prelate against whom it was directed.[1]

Transubstantiation was a scholastic doctrine which had grown up by degrees. The name, perhaps in use some time before, was employed to fix the doctrine by Innocent III. at the fourth Council of the Lateran in A.D. 1215. Yet the name, it may be, was better fixed than the doctrine; for though the Schoolmen, following suit after the Council, knew pretty well what was the correct language in which to clothe a mystery, the high mystery itself naturally defied explanation and even illustration. It was a high mystery, and there the mind must leave it. In this it seems to differ from other great mysteries generally accepted as essential to the Christian faith. For even the high truths of the Trinity and the Incarnation are not so totally incapable of apprehension that they do not supply manifest wants in our spiritual nature; so that the Christian world has invariably felt that it cannot possibly do without them. But a large part of the Christian world has felt for ages that the doctrine of Transubstantiation is paradoxical in a way that makes it to the average man unthinkable; and even its philosophic defenders know that it can only be apprehended at all by the acceptance of that Aristotelian philosophy on which it was founded. Any attempt to illustrate it otherwise seems doomed to failure. Gardiner made one of his best points against Cranmer, who would have set forth his own view of the Sacrament by the analogy of the sun; "which sun," Cranmer had remarked, "is ever corporally in Heaven and nowhere else, and yet by operation and virtue is here on earth. So Christ is corporally in Heaven," etc.[1] Gardiner almost turns this argument against its author by showing how Bucer, no more a friend to the Pope than Cranmer himself, used the very same example of the sun in illustration of the Real Presence—a doctrine which he had continually upheld, as he did still at Cambridge. But what was meant by "truly and substantially present"? The heat and light of the sun are here on earth undoubtedly, but these are not its corporal substance in the language of the Schoolmen. Cranmer could accept Bucer's application of the argument very well. "I am glad," he tells Gardiner, "that at the last we be come so near together; for you be almost right heartily welcome home, and I pray you let us shake hands together. For we be agreed, as meseemeth, that Christ's Body is present, and the same body that suffered; and we be agreed also of the manner of his presence. For you say that the body of Christ is not present, but after a spiritual manner, and so say I also."[1]

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[1] Without irony, Bishop Tunstall said the very same thing in the course of Gardiner's trial. His words were "that he hath known no man that is learned that openly defended or maintained the said error, saving that now lately he hath seen a book for the defence of the said error, which is entitled to be made by the lord of Canterbury; but whether it be his or no, he cannot tell."—Foxe, vi. 241.

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[1] Cranmer's *Works* (Parker Soc.), i. 89.

This extract from Cranmer's voluminous rejoinder may serve for a specimen of its very best quality. It was issued next year, and its general tone, though powerful, is not altogether so pleasing. The title it bore was "An Answer by the Reverend Father in God, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of All England and Metropolitan, unto a crafty and sophistical Cavillation, devised by Stephen Gardiner, doctor of law, late Bishop of Winchester, against the true and godly doctrine of the most holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour, Jesu Christ." Bishop Gardiner had by that time been deprived, and in answering him Cranmer also made some reply to another antagonist, Dr. Richard Smyth, then a refugee abroad, who had contrived to publish "in a strange country, without quietness, books, help of learned men, sufficient leisure and time, and without also many other necessaries that are required unto such an enterprise" (so the author himself says), a little volume of 166 pages, entitled *A Confutation of a certain Book called "A Defence of the true and Catholic doctrine of the Sacrament."*[2] Smyth's argument, however, so entirely rests upon authority that we need not give it further notice.

Authority the question at stake.

Authority was really the question at stake. Scholasticism, as a living force, had virtually spent itself in Wycliffe, whose enormous literary energy tried to set up a new Scholasticism opposed to that of previous Schoolmen. His teaching, no doubt, appealed strongly to popular thinking outside the Schools in a way that makes us recognise in him the dawn of modern ideas; but being in itself really another Scholasticism, it did not capture men half so much by its arguments as by its denials. Wycliffe has had many followers to this day in repudiating the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and their number is not decreasing; but how many educated Christians could reproduce his arguments and make them their own? Cranmer did so, because he was a real theologian and a man of learning; and if we needed now an old scholastic argument against a scholastic doctrine, it certainly could not be more clearly put than by the leader of the English Reformation. In the seventeenth chapter of his first treatise on the Sacrament, the matter is stated thus:—

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[1] Cranmer's *Works* (Parker Soc.), i. 91.

[2] See Appendix to this Chapter.

> First, the papists say that in the Supper of the Lord, after the words of consecration (as they call it), there is none other substance remaining but the substance of Christ's flesh and blood, so that there remaineth neither bread to be eaten nor wine to be drunken. And although there be the colour of bread and wine, the savour, the smell, the bigness, the fashion and all other (as they call them) accidents, or qualities and quantities of bread and wine, yet, say they, there is no very bread nor wine, but they be turned into the flesh and blood of Christ. And this conversion they call "Transubstantiation," that is to say, "turning of one substance into another substance." And although all the accidents, both of the bread and wine, remain still, yet, say they, the same accidents be in no manner of thing, but hang alone in the air, without anything to stay them upon. For in the body and blood of Christ, say they, these accidents cannot be, nor yet in the air; for the body and blood of Christ, and the air, be neither of that bigness, fashion, smell, nor colour that the bread and wine be. Nor in the bread and wine, say they, these accidents cannot be; for the substance of bread and wine, as they affirm, be clean gone. And so there remaineth whiteness, but nothing is white; there remaineth colours, but nothing is coloured therewith; there remaineth roundness, but nothing is round; and there is bigness, and yet nothing is big; there is sweetness, without any sweet thing; softness without any soft thing; breaking, without anything broken; division, without anything divided; and so other qualities and quantities, without anything to receive them. And this doctrine they teach as a necessary article of our faith.

The effect of such a passage as this is almost weakened to the modern reader by the paragraph which immediately follows, tending to show historically that "it is not the doctrine of Christ but the subtle invention of Anti-Christ, first decreed by Innocent III.," etc. The strength of Cranmer appeared in the fact that while he stood alone against the learned divines of his day, he had taken the full measure of the ground on which they rested their case, and, after Gardiner's answer came out, he quoted again in his reply the whole passage in his first treatise from which the above is an extract.[1]

Commission for Gardiner's trial.

A commission for Gardiner's trial was issued on the 12th December 1550, directed to Archbishop Cranmer and Bishops Ridley of London, Goodrich of Ely, and Holbeach of Lincoln; Sir William Petre, one of the King's two principal secretaries; Sir James Hales, one of the Justices of the Common Pleas; Griffith Leyson and John Oliver, doctors of law; and two other lawyers, designated simply as "esquires," Richard Goodrick and John Gosnold. The names of these Commissioners are partizan names, and the words of the commission itself are an indictment, declaring the disobedience of the accused, first when he was ordered not to speak of certain matters in his sermon before the King, and afterwards his continued disobedience ever since, by which he declares himself "to be a person incorrigible, without any hope of recovery." As the King's clemency and long-suffering had only increased his wilfulness and encouraged others "to follow like disobedience," his misdemeanours and contempts must not pass further unreformed. But if all this was ascertained already, what was to be tried by the Commissioners? Only, it would seem, whether he would conform at last or be deprived, and the Commissioners were empowered to take that last step accordingly.[2]

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[1] See his answer, *Works*, i. at p. 45 (Parker Soc.).

[2] Foxe, vi. 93-5.

He refuses to acknowledge the tribunal.

Gardiner was summoned before them,[1] and made a protest in the first place that he did not by his appearance intend to acknowledge their jurisdiction. But the Archbishop "did onerate the said Bishop of Winchester with a corporal oath upon the Holy Evangelists by him touched and kissed, to make a true and faithful answer to the said positions and articles, and every part of them, in writing, by the Thursday next following, between the hours of nine and ten before noon, in that place," etc. The Court certainly "did onerate" the Bishop with a good many things for which he ought not to have been called in question, and when he wrote answers to the best of his recollection (under protest that he was not bound to answer at all), he was pestered with demands for fuller replies. At the very first sitting of the Court he declared that the proceedings against him seemed to be extraordinary, as he understood that the King "had made a full end with him at the Tower for all the matters for which he was committed"—a declaration which called forth an express denial from the Council, read at the second session on Thursday the 18th.

And so began a very lengthened inquiry which extended to no less than twenty-two sittings, ranging from the 15th December 1550 to the 14th February 1551. A detailed account of what was done at every sitting was printed in the first edition of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, with texts of the evidences produced on both sides. But these records of the trial were suppressed in later editions, and the readers were spared from wading through a great mass of documents, consisting of articles against Gardiner, articles proposed by Gardiner to others, additional articles exhibited, pleas urged by him against the exhibits, interrogatories on behalf of the Crown, and interrogatories ministered by himself, all printed, we may believe, with general accuracy as regards the text, but in no sort of order, and without proper references from the different sets of articles to the particular answers given to each by a number of different deponents.[1] The perusal is certainly confusing. Nevertheless a good deal of important information was elicited, which is all the more valuable in view of the manifest object of the whole proceedings.

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[1] The lieutenant of the Tower had orders to produce him before the Commissioners at Lambeth on Monday, 15th December, and that must have been the date of the first session.—Dasent, iii. 179.

Questioned about his sermon in 1548.

The main subject on which he was questioned was his sermon before the King two years previously, and the circumstances connected with it; on all which he returned pretty copious answers to the best of his recollection, but was pursued with still further inquiries, like a man who had been prevaricating. To this unworthy treatment he could only reply, as he did, with perfect respect and dignity, by showing generally that law itself could not bind a man to answer more precisely than his memory and conscience would allow, that his use of "ifs" in his previous answer was not contemptuous, and so forth. He had given very full particulars of the messages sent him by Somerset through Cecil before he preached, but he was told that he had answered nothing to the point that he was commanded and inhibited "on the King's Majesty's behalf." He thought his own plain statement of the facts ought to have been sufficient; and whether there was any commandment or inhibition in law was a point he had no occasion to enter on. But the worst persecution of this sort to which he was subjected was in the last article of his indictment (the 19th): "That you have not hitherto, according to the said intimation and monition, submitted, reconciled, or reformed yourself, but contemptuously yet still remain in your first disobedience." His reply was that he had been all the while shut up in prison, and had no means of communicating with any man or prosecuting, as he desired leave to do, his appeal to the King. He was not conscious of any fault; but if any offence done in ignorance could be objected to him, he hoped it would not be held prejudicial to his present answer. He did not mean to touch his Sovereign's honour when he spoke of not offending God's law, which his Sovereign, if he knew his conscience, would not command him to do." This, he was told, was no answer "concerning submission, reconcilement and reformation"; and he replied that as he repudiated any sentiment of contempt, he really ought not to be pressed for a declaration to the prejudice of his own innocence; "because, being an honest man, he is somewhat worth to the King his Sovereign Lord; and having cast his innocency willingly away by the untrue testimony of himself, he is nothing worth to the world nor himself either." [1]

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[1] In one case, pp. 125-7, there is a set of nine additional Articles put in by Gardiner, and they are not numbered, though the answers given to some of them by five deponents are (pp. 240-41). At p. 133 is a set of six numbered interrogatories which are really seven, as the first contains a second item, and only by rectifying the numbers can Lord Paget's answer at pp. 164-5 be made appropriate.

Absurdity of the charges of disobedience.

The prosecution sought to establish against Gardiner charges of disobedience, disloyalty, and even treason. But in any just examination of his conduct under Edward VI.'s Council they would have found it hard to show plausible grounds even for a charge of disobedience. For in truth Gardiner acted on principles of non-resistance almost as much as Cranmer himself. He showed himself conformable, even to orders of which he disapproved, to an extent which the modern mind might almost be tempted to blame as unconscientious. But it was really for reasons of conscience rather than of policy that he obeyed, leaving the responsibility to others. In the matter of the Royal Visitation he had in the first place written to the Privy Council his conscientious opinion, but he gave orders to his proctor, his chancellor, his chaplains, and other officers throughout his diocese to treat the Visitors with all due honour and obedience.[1] And when he had remonstrated in vain against orders for putting down images and against other innovations, his secretary, who wrote those remonstrances for him, bore witness that he at once obeyed the King's injunctions in these matters, and caused them to be fully carried out in his diocese.[2]

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[1] Compare the nineteen Articles and answers in Foxe, vi. 64-77, with the further answers on pp. 101-3.

His doctrine of non-resistance,

In his own cathedral on Palm Sunday 1548 he had preached to a great multitude "that the life of a Christian man consisteth chiefly in suffering of another man's will, and not his own; and declared the duty of the subject to the rulers, which was (as he said) to obey their will and suffer their power."[3] At that time he had just been liberated from the Fleet, and had received commands to preach upon the subject, but he did so willingly. He told his hearers that subjects were bound to obey without resistance; for all power came from God, and whoever resisted that power did offend God. Nay, if the King were an Infidel (instead of being, as he was, a very true and faithful prince), and were to command anything to be observed against God's law, though they were not bound to do it, they should rather suffer willingly such punishment as the prince would inflict than offer any resistance.[4] That was the doctrine inculcated by a man charged with disobedience.

which he himself carried out.

So entirely did he himself carry out this principle that he not only obeyed injunctions that he disliked, but he did his utmost to discourage the murmurs that arose against them in his own diocese. There the Royal Visitation was very unpopular, especially the injunctions issued about images, as the vicar of Farnham informed his chaplain, Watson, when the Bishop was passing that way home into Hampshire from

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[1] Foxe, vi. 127-8. [2] *Ib.* p. 227-8. [3] *Ib.* p. 201. [4] *Ib.* pp. 208-10.

London. But Gardiner himself next morning[1] (it being St. Matthias' Day) preached in Farnham church from the Gospel of the day (Matt. xi. 25), and when he came to the words "hast revealed them unto babes," took occasion to insist upon obedience to the King's authority in the way that has just been described, saying that a true subject should not ask "why or wherefore he should do this or that," but do as he was commanded. It was quite competent, he said, for the King to abolish ceremonies, and good subjects should conform their wills to the will of their prince.[2]

Still, the Council (who were their own witnesses to a large extent) had no difficulty in obtaining depositions that he had not declared exactly everything that he was commanded to declare in his sermon on St. Peter's Day, and that he had even touched on some subjects in spite of express orders to the contrary.[3] They had, indeed, endeavoured before he preached to treat him like a schoolboy, and dictate what he should say; but this attempt he had very naturally withstood. And the only case that they could make out against the sermon after it was delivered was that the preacher had not exactly done all that the Council wished him to do, although he had never promised to do it. That a change was going to be made in the authorised sacramental doctrine was a thing that he had no desire to know, and to which, notwithstanding various hints, he no doubt desired to be blind. But it is a strange thing to find a man guilty of breaking the law that is to be when he obeys the law that actually exists. The Earl of Bedford, indeed, deposed that the Bishop had "used himself in the said sermon very evil, in the hearing of the King's Majesty, the Council and a great many besides—and so evil, that, if the King's Majesty and the Council had not been present, his Lordship thinketh that the people would have pulled him out of the pulpit, they were so much offended with him."[1] But this testimony is unique, and being put forth only as a matter of private opinion, it is pretty fairly balanced by the Bishop's own opinion that he had had a quiet hearing, which led him to think he had given satisfaction, and to apprehend no further trouble.[2]

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[1] In the depositions as printed the vicar's conversation with the chaplain is repeatedly said to have taken place on "St. Matthew's Eve," which would be in September. But this was certainly not the time of year, and St. Matthias' Eve is clearly intended. St. Matthias' Day in 1548, being a leap year, would be 25th February.

[2] Foxe, vi. 211-14.

[3] *Ib.* pp. 144-6, 148-9, 151, 154-6, 159, 161, etc.

He disliked innovations, but submitted to them.

Yet there was no doubt of one thing, which indeed was fully testified by Bishop Thirlby, even in bearing witness to his obedience. Gardiner personally disliked the religious changes that had taken place, not only in the present but during the last reign. He had always disliked innovations, and had been "earnest against alterations, as well concerning the Bishop of Rome as other orders in religion. Yet after those matters were established and set forth by the Acts, Statutes, and laws of this realm, and the King's Majesty's injunctions and proclamations, this Deponent hath known and heard the Bishop of Winchester publish, declare and set forth, as well the supremacy, or supreme authority, of the King's Majesty's father of famous memory, as the abolishing of the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome,"[3] etc. Thus, even friendly testimony, showing that he was submissive, showed also that he did not love the things he had submitted to. And then there was the Ratisbon incident, about which all the existing evidence was now carefully collected. Yes, he had actually received a letter from the Pope at Ratisbon—an astounding thing for an ambassador of Henry VIII. to have received after the separation from Rome. The dead King himself knew well how that had come about—a thing which no other man in his Council really understood—and he knew well that Gardiner had done

The true meaning of the Ratisbon incident.

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[1] Foxe, vi. 161.
[2] *Ib.* pp. 110-11, art. xxxviii.
[3] *Ib.* p. 190.

him a very great service by those conversations with Granvelle that led up to it.[1] But for Gardiner's astuteness Henry's throne at that time might really have been a little insecure, and on his return from that embassy he met with a much better reception from his master than many diplomatists expected. But the crisis which Henry dreaded at that time passed away, and political gratitude was not to be expected of him. At the very end of his reign, within eight weeks of his death, the King showed himself displeased at the fact that Gardiner had manifested some reluctance to part with lands belonging to his see by way of an exchange with the Crown.[2] But there was pretty clear evidence that able services such as his were fully recognised even then; for it was undeniable that within a fortnight or so of the King's death he had been employed to address in the Council's name ambassadors from Scotland, from France, and from the Emperor. And Gardiner appealed to the knowledge of the Councillors themselves whether that was not the case.[3]

The Councillors had their own way of answering. Lord Paget said he knew that the late King "misliked the said Bishop ever the longer the worse; and that, in his conscience, if the said King had lived any while longer than he did, he would have used extremity against the said Bishop, as far forth as the law would have borne his Majesty: thinking to have just and sore matter of old against the said Bishop, in store, not taken away by any pardon." That was a little insinuation on Paget's part that Henry VIII., though he had condoned the fact of Gardiner having once received a letter from the Pope, might have brought it up against him any day if it had ever suited his policy to impeach Gardiner of treason.[4]

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[1] See Vol. II. 346-50.

[2] *State Papers*, i. 883; Foxe, vi. 138.

[3] Foxe, vi. 106.

[4] Warwick in his deposition (Foxe, vi. 179) says that Henry VIII. suspected the Bishop much to favour the Bishop of Rome's authority, not

"And at divers times" it seems the King had "asked the said Lord Paget for a certain writing touching the said Bishop; commanding him to keep it, save that he might have it when he called for it."[1] The deposition then goes on to relate the circumstances of the King having put Gardiner's name out of his will.

Afterwards Paget had to answer certain interrogatories proposed to him on Gardiner's behalf, among which were the following:—

> V. Whether the said lord Paget, incontinently upon the attainder of the late Duke of Norfolk, did not do a message from the King's Majesty to the said Bishop, that he would be content that Master Secretary Petre, might have the same hundred pounds a year of the said Bishop's grant that the said Duke had?
>
> VI. Item whether, after the said Bishop had answered himself, to gratify the King's Majesty, to be content therewith, the said lord Paget made relation thereof, as is said, to the King's Majesty, who answered that he thanked the Bishop very heartily for it, and that he might assure himself the King's Majesty was his very good lord?[2]

Henry's real feeling towards Gardiner.

These questions refer to what took place in the month of January 1547, just before Henry VIII.'s death, and were designed to bring out the fact that Gardiner was still on such terms with that King that being asked a favour he received the royal thanks for according it. And Paget's answer was as follows:—

> To the vth and vith Articles the said lord Paget answereth, that after the attainder of the Duke of Norfolk, as he remembereth, in the Upper and Nether House of the Parliament, the late King of most worthy memory willed

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only from the case of "one Gardiner, nearest about the said bishop" (Germain Gardiner, see Vol. II. of this work, p. 411), but from the "secret practice" with the Bishop of Rome's legate at Ratisbon. "Upon which suspicions, and for other secret informations that the said late King had touching the said Bishop's favour to the Bishop of Rome, his Grace caused in all pardons afterwards, all treasons committed beyond the seas to be exempted; which was meant most for the Bishop's cause, to the intent the said Bishop should take no benefit by any of the said pardons." There is, however, no pardon to Gardiner upon record, to bear out this statement.

[1] Foxe, vi. 163.

[2] *Ib.* p. 133.

> him (the said lord Paget) to require[1] the Bishop's grant of the hundred pounds mentioned in the articles: but in such sort his Majesty willed it to be required as he looked for it rather of duty than of any gratuity at the Bishop's hand, to whom, the said Lord Paget saith of certain knowledge, as men may know things, he, the said King, would have made request for nothing, being the said Bishop the man, at that time, whom, the said lord Paget believeth, his Majesty abhorred more than any man in his realm; which he declared grievously, at sundry times, to the said lord against the said Bishop, even naming him with such terms as the said lord Paget is sorry to name. And the said lord Paget thinketh that divers of the gentlemen of the Privy Chamber are able to depose the same. Nevertheless it may be that he, the said lord Paget, did use another form of request to the said Bishop than the King would have liked, if he had known it; which if he did, he did it rather for dexterity, to obtain the thing for his friend, than for that he had any such special charge of the said King so to do. And also the said Lord Paget saith that afterwards it might be that he used such comfortable words of the King's favorable and thankful acceptation of the thing at the said Bishop's hand as in the article is mentioned; which if he did, it was rather for quiet of the said Bishop than for that it was a thing indeed.[2]

Here Paget helps us wonderfully to take the measure of his own character, and at the same time, perhaps, does something to darken rather needlessly that of Henry VIII. The King did, indeed, through Paget, ask the Bishop a favour; but no, it was not a favour at all, for he had a right to command the Bishop how to dispose of a certain annuity out of the episcopal revenues. The Bishop's compliance deserved no thanks, but Paget perhaps may have told a lie to make him think Henry expressed a degree of gratitude.

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[1] The word "require" in the Sixteenth Century was precisely equivalent to the word "request" in our days. It did not, in its ordinary use, suggest a demand that could be enforced. In fact, there was so little of this in the meaning of the word "require" when standing by itself that in royal letters we not unfrequently meet with the expression, "We require and nevertheless charge you," which shows an actual antithesis between the two verbs. So also, in the English marriage service to this day: "I require and charge you both," a more gentle word being followed up by a stronger one.

[2] Foxe, vi. 164-5.

For the Bishop was the man that Henry hated most of all his subjects. And Henry's hatred of the Bishop (if he did hate him) is not mentioned, of course, as evidence of royal ingratitude, but rather of the fact that the Bishop was a disloyal and very troublesome man, whose name Henry VIII. very properly cut out of his will, and whom his executors were well justified in keeping in prison as dangerous! But what has Paget to say to another point, mentioned above, which really seems to tell in Gardiner's favour?

> To the viith Article the said lord Paget saith that it may be that the said Bishop was used at the time mentioned in the Article, with the Ambassadors, for the Council's mouth, because that none other of the Council that sat above him were so well languaged as he in the French tongue. But the said lord Paget believeth that if the said King that dead is had known it, the Council would have had little thanks for their labor.[1]

Marvellous! The Council employed the services of the man whom Henry hated most to express its own sentiments to ambassadors, merely because he was such an excellent linguist! And other Councillors backed up Paget's statement. Wiltshire declared that Gardiner was employed in this way both on account of his command of French and because he was learned in the civil laws.[2] Lord Chancellor Riche says simply "for that he was skilled in the language."[3] And Warwick tells us more particularly:—

> He was in such reputation and estimation with the Councillors of our late lord that dead is that commonly they committed unto him the speech and answer to all ambassadors, as well those of Scotland, France, as the Emperor's; and that within fourteen days before the death of our late Sovereign lord they did so use him, the said Earl saith, that forasmuch as the answers to ambassadors commonly required to be done by a man learned in the Civil law, and specially when it was to be done in the Latin

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[1] Foxe, vi. 165. [2] *Ib.* p. 171. [3] *Ib.* p. 175.

tongue, the said Council did use the said Bishop's speech; and not for any other credit or estimation that they had of him (!).

Gardiner's sentence and appeal.

Need we say anything more about this very one-sided trial? On the 14th February the expected sentence was delivered at Lambeth in spite of renewed protestations of nullity from Gardiner and appeal from the judges to the King.[1] Of course, such an appeal was virtually from the King's Council to the King's Council. Nothing could reasonably be hoped for from it. But we have the exact result once more in the Council's own register[2] as follows:—

> At Westminster, the 15th of February 1550 [–51].
>
> Upon debating of the Bishop of Winchester's case, forasmuch as it appeared he had at all times before the Judges of his cause used himself very unreverently to the King's Majesty and very sklaunderfullie towards the Council, and specially yesterday, being the day of his judgment given against him, he called his Judges heretics and sacramentaries, they being there the King's Commissioners and of his Highness' Council; it was therefore concluded by the whole Board that he should be removed from the lodging he hath now in the Tower to a meaner lodging, and none to wait upon him but one by the Lieutenant's appointment, in such sort as by the resort of any man to him he have not the mean to send out to any man, or to hear from any man; and likewise that his books and papers be taken from him and seen, and that from henceforth he have neither pen, ink nor paper to write his detestable purposes, but be sequestered from all conference and from all means that may serve him to practise anyway.

The punishment was for contempt of Court; and of that he very likely had been guilty. For he had never recognised the authority of the Court even from the first. Nor was it wonderful if he really did call his judges heretics and sacramentaries; for they had made it evident that they were engaged in changing the doctrinal basis of the Church of England by simply putting down all opposition with the strong hand and keeping in close prison those who ventured to remonstrate. There was, indeed, a full attendance of the Council that day when this resolution was taken. Warwick, no doubt, took care that the responsibility was shared by as many as possible; and there were present Somerset and Cranmer, the worthy Lord Chancellor Riche, the Lord Treasurer [William Paulet, now Earl of Wiltshire], the Lord Great Master [Warwick, not claiming undue precedence], the Lord Privy Seal [Russell, Earl of Bedford], the Lord Great Chamberlain [William Parr, Earl of Northampton], the Marquis Dorset, the Lord Admiral [Clinton], the Lord Chamberlain [Lord Wentworth], Goodrich [Bishop of Ely], Mr. Comptroller [of the Household, Sir Anthony Wingfield], the Master of the Horse [Sir William Herbert], Mr. Vice-Chamberlain [Sir Thomas Darcy], two Secretaries, and Sir Edward Northe.

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[1] Foxe, vi. 261-2.

[2] Dasent, iii. 213.

Gardiner deprived of his bishopric.

So the sentence was held to stand good, and Gardiner was deprived of his bishopric of Winchester,[1] which on the 8th March[2] was given to John Ponet, or Poynet, Bishop of Rochester; and the see of Rochester a little later was filled up by the appointment of John Scory. Thus the new school was strengthened in episcopal power to lord it over the Church. But what was to be thought of it morally is another matter. Of Gardiner's successor, Poynet, three months after his appointment, we read as follows in a contemporary chronicle:—

Character of his successor, Ponet.

> The 27th day of the same month (July) the Bishop of Winchester that was then was divorced from his wife in Paul's, the which was a butcher's wife of Nottingham, and gave her husband a certain money a year during his life as it was judged by the law.[3]

Another chronicle says that he was "divorced from the butcher's wife with shame enough." But, to mend matters, he married again three months later, on the 25th October, at Croydon, before Archbishop Cranmer and a large assembly of spectators.[1] He had published in 1549 *A Defence of the Marriage of Priests*,[2] and he thus gave a shining example of the principles he had defended with his pen.

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[1] While Gardiner was deprived of his bishopric Cranmer had his expenses paid for prosecuting him. See Appendix to this Chapter.

[2] Dasent, p. 231.

[3] *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 70.

Archbishop Holgate.

Another married prelate of the time, Holgate, Archbishop of York, was accused of doing much the same thing as Ponet; for in November 1551 three gentlemen were commissioned by the Council to examine and report upon the case between him and one Norman, who claimed the Archbishop's wife as his own.[3] Apparently, however, the Archbishop was held to be rightly married to her, till he was deprived of his bishopric under Mary, when he repented the fact of having married, saying that he had been driven to it for fear of being called a papist!

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I

See pp. 229, 243

In connection with the story of Cranmer and Gardiner the following further extracts from the *Acts of the Privy Council* will be read with interest. The two entries are both under date 8th March 1550 [1551].

Upon knowledge that one Sethe had brought over certain ill books made by Dr. Smythe in France against the Bishop of Canterbury's and Peter Martyr's books, forasmuch as he directed his said books to divers persons by name, and also sent special letters which Sethe delivered, being thought a matter necessary to be examined, it was resolved that Dr. Poynett, now named Bishop of Winchester, Mr. Gosnall, ———, and John Throgmorton should have the examination of the matter.

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[1] Machyn's *Diary*, pp. 8, 320.

[2] See Strype's *Memorials*, bk. ii. ch. 18.

[3] Dasent, iii. p. 427. The Archbishop had at first been summoned to Westminster and ordered to bring his wife with him, but the summons was countermanded. *Ib.* pp. 421, 426.

A warrant to ——— to pay £246, 13s. 4d. to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in respect as well of his charges and pains sustained in the late process against the late Bishop of Winchester, as divers other ways.

The Council, however, knew of the printing of Smith's book at Paris even in the middle of January. See Turnbull's *Calendar*, i. 67.

CHAPTER II

THE EPISCOPAL REVOLUTION AND BISHOP HOOPER

The witty Sir John Harington, who was born early in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, is the author of a well-known couplet:

> Treason doth never prosper. What's the reason?
> For if it prosper none dare call it treason.

The saying, though rather cynical, was characteristic of an age that had not yet passed away; and, cynical as it was, it still contains philosophy, both sound and unsound. Revolutions are brought about by conspiracies which a loyal community will never encourage, but which are not to be greatly feared so long as wholesome political and religious sentiments prevail among the people. If a revolution of any kind is successful, it implies clearly that there was much amiss in the community before it broke out; but it does not imply that those who engineered conspiracy and rebellion were necessarily in the right. Success itself, no doubt, is a kind of justification which provokes a misinterpretation of history in behalf of a victorious party; and a just sense of positive advantages gained makes us somewhat unwilling to criticise the means too closely.

The advantages gained for religion under Edward VI. were not permanent, and the work done would certainly have been far more severely criticised by historians, but that during the long reign of Queen

Causes which protected the Edwardine Reformation.

Elizabeth there was a reversion to Edwardine principles in religion, protected by a secular foreign policy similar to that of the Queen's father, which was wonderfully successful in maintaining the independence of England against foreign aggression and the spiritual claims of the papacy. It was only under Elizabeth that the mediæval pretensions of Rome completely lost their hold on the English people, and from that day onward the tradition grew and grew that the Reformation had been entirely the result of a devout zeal, emancipating the nation from blind superstitions. There was a plausible truth in this, for old superstitions fared ill. But it was forgotten that some very earthly motives conspired to protect the doings of the "godly," and that the acquisition of monastic spoils by wealthy noblemen and ambitious courtiers inspired the governing classes with the strongest possible objections to a counter revolution, which would have involved another large redistribution of property over the whole kingdom.

The truth is, that it was the political element in religion that determined the matter far more than theology. Religion does and must affect politics in every age, and politics must affect religion. So, while the worldlings were set on things of earth, and old devotees were persecuted for clinging to the traditional faith, theologians possessed of practical minds were naturally driven to consider how essential principles were to be maintained in a world so entirely altered. In this realm of practical theology, as we have seen,[1] even in the days of Henry VIII., Cranmer and Gardiner were the leaders of two opposite schools of thought, each of which accepted royal supremacy as the basis for a new religious settlement; and Henry, as Supreme Head of the Church, secured himself by the advice either of one or of the other, as occasion seemed to require.

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[1] See Vol. I. pp. 316 *sq.*

Cranmer, indeed, from the very first felt himself committed to the principle of royal supremacy, not only by the conditions to which he owed his advancement (though, indeed, it was an advancement that he never sought), but apparently by a conviction of its very necessity in the nature of things; so that he maintained in his latter days that even if the ruler of a kingdom were a pagan, nay, a persecutor of religion, he would still be Head of the Church in his own dominions.[1] On the other hand, Gardiner, not less impressed by the political necessity of the new doctrine, subscribed to it with reluctance. He represented the conservative element in religion, as Cranmer did the progressive, and the opposition between the two was naturally irreconcilable. At last as Henry drew near his end and revised his will, he felt that he must absolutely choose between the incompatibles. So he left out Gardiner's name among the executors.[2] A progressive policy in religion under royal supremacy had become inevitable, and Gardiner's presence in the Council of his son would make government on such lines impossible.

Royal supremacy pushed to an extreme.

But perhaps even Henry VIII. had little idea of the length to which the revolution would go. In his time, under royal supremacy, the bishops were still supposed to rule their several dioceses; but under his son steps were taken from the first that none of them should be suffered long to rule who were not imbued more or less with Lollard principles. For this reason it was that the doctrine of royal supremacy was even at the outset pushed to an extreme—that bishops under the new reign had to take out fresh licences to exercise their functions; that they were commanded, in preaching, to declare the King's authority, whether as Head of the Realm or Head of the Church, to be quite as great in his juvenile years as if he had attained maturity; and that bishops who would not favour a new policy were put in prison and afterwards deprived of their bishoprics.

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[1] When interrogated by Dr. Martin in 1555, he confessed that even Nero, who beheaded St. Peter, was head of the Church "in worldly respect of the temporal bodies of men of whom the Church consisteth," and that the Turk, too, was "head of the Church in Turkey."—Foxe, viii. 57.

[2] See p. 11 *ante*.

Under the rule of Somerset only Bonner was deprived, and the proceedings against him were irregular enough. This was just before the Protector's fall in October 1549, and it was a subject of doubt for some time whether the sentence would be maintained. But Warwick reversed nothing that his predecessor had done in that way. Ridley was made Bishop of London in Bonner's place. Heath was sent to the Fleet on the 4th March 1550, and Day on the 11th December of that year. Gardiner was deprived on the 14th February 1551, and the venerable Bishop Tunstall in May following was ordered to keep within his own house in London till, on the 20th December, he was removed and lodged in the Tower. In 1551 also Bishop Voysey of Exeter, an old man, was got out of the way, intimidated into resignation to make room for Coverdale, who was intruded into the see on the 14th August. In October the imprisoned bishops, Heath and Day, were deprived of their bishoprics by a special commission, and their places were filled up in May of the next year by Hooper, already Bishop of Gloucester, who had Worcester given him *in commendam*, and John Scory, translated from Rochester to Day's see of Chichester. Finally, in October 1552, Bishop Tunstall was deprived of his bishopric of Durham.

Deprivations and imprisonments of bishops.

Thus no less than six bishops of the old school were dislodged, and the sees of five of them given to others of the new school. What would ultimately have been done about Bishop Tunstall's diocese of Durham we do not know, but there was a scheme for dividing it into two separate bishoprics, one of which was to have been given to Ridley. An attempt was first made to deprive Tunstall by Act of Parliament—an extraordinary proceeding; but the Lords threw out the bill. Then a bill for his attainder was introduced in the Commons; but the Commons would not agree to it unless he was brought face to face with his accusers. Finally, he was deprived in October by an irregular commission of laymen. After all the attempts in years past to secure absolutism by exalting the authority of a boy King, whose will could be moulded by a knowing statesman, it is satisfactory to find that neither House of Parliament was completely at the command of that great leader of faction; for the Protector Somerset, whose rule had been despotic enough in Church matters, was a mere child to the knowing and unscrupulous Dudley.

It is certainly not pleasant to think that an old school of divines was driven out, and a new school intruded into their places simply by the arm of power. But we cannot make facts to our liking. We must study them as things done, and inquire their meaning. Setting aside for the present the story of the deprived bishops, which has carried us a year or two beyond the date we are now considering, let us see what was done about the new ones. On the 1st April 1550, Ridley was placed in Bonner's see of London.[1] It is needless to say that such a bishopric had always been well endowed. But it had suffered some diminution of revenues when the see of Westminster had been carved out of the diocese in 1540; and after Bonner's deprivation the temporalities, as usual in a vacancy, fell into the hands of the Crown. The opportunity was used for an unaccustomed amount of spoliation. Within a year and a half after his promotion, Ridley wrote to Cecil in answer to an application for a few trees, promising him half a dozen, such as he could spare. Cecil himself was but a poor man at this time, complaining that he saw "the bottom of his purse," and Ridley was willing to do for him what he would not do for other applicants. But he had a sad tale to tell. "If you knew," he writes, "the miserable spoil that was done in the vacation time by the King's officers upon my woods, whereby in time past so many good houses have been builded, and hereafter might have been, also so many lame relieved, so many broken amended, so many fallen down reëdified,—forsooth I do not doubt but you were able to move the whole country to lament and mourn the lamentable case of so pitiful a decay."[1]

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[1] Rymer, xv. 222

It was some advantage to the new Bishop of London that the see of Westminster was suppressed and the diocese merged in that of London on his promotion. Westminster was vacated by Thirlby, a divine of the old school whom there was no good reason to deprive, and who was therefore transferred to Norwich to be out of the way. The vacancy at Norwich was due to the resignation of Bishop Repps, once Abbot of St. Benet's Holme, who died a few months later. But, if the diocese of London was enlarged on Bishop Ridley's promotion, he was immediately called upon to alienate some of the property of the see, and on the 12th April, the day he was enthroned, he surrendered to the Crown the manors of Braintree, Southminster, Stepney, and Hackney, with the advowson of Coggeshall Church.[2] In return for which he received from the Crown various parcels of property in Middlesex, the city of London, and other counties, valued at £526 : 19 : 9¼ *per annum*, which had belonged to the see of Westminster. But the lands which he gave up to the King were granted away again four days later in three portions to Sir Thomas Darcy, Vice-Chamberlain of the Royal Household, Lord Chancellor Riche, and

Plunder of bishoprics.

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[1] Tytler's *England under Edward VI. and Mary*, i. 431.

[2] Rymer, xv. 226.

Thomas Lord Wentworth, Lord Chamberlain of the Household, their whole yearly value amounting to £480 : 3 : 9¾. By this it would seem that the separate see of London was a gainer by over £46 a year; but the united bishopric of London and Westminster was certainly a loser. For the clear revenues of the whole bishopric before Westminster was taken out of it, were valued in 1535 at £1119 : 8s. a year, and Ridley gave up very nearly if not quite the half of the Church property supposed to be at his disposal.[1]

But it must be admitted that this method of confiscating Church property was not altogether new; for it was painfully characteristic of the whole era of the Reformation. When Henry VIII. made himself Supreme Head of the Church, he could of course dispose of the things of Church and State alike; and though he would not have it said that he turned to secular uses what was set apart for God's service, and had not been misapplied, he forced bishops easily to exchange their lands for others which he himself could afford to part with. Neither Cranmer nor Gardiner could withstand his rapacity, and they were both compelled, in this way, to give up what belonged to their sees, which, except upon compulsion, they had no right to surrender. And the like was done

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[1] In Stowe's *Survey*, bk. v. p. 5 (Strype's edition), is an incorrect account of these transactions, partly corrected by the Editor, who endeavours to make out in the margin that what Ridley gave up to the King was "in exchange for other lands of like or better value." Strype's own account of the matter, however (*Ecclesiastical Memorials*, II., pt. i. 340), when compared with the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* does not bear out this statement. I do not quite understand Dixon's view of this matter (*Hist. Ch. of England*, iii. 198). The dean and chapter, it is true, in confirming Ridley's grant, reserved some lands and rents in Southminster, Stepney, and Hackney to themselves. But I fail to see evidences of an undesigned error corrected afterwards. The good intentions of the Council, with regard to Ridley at least, if not with regard to the see, may be read in the *Acts of the Privy Council* as follows:—On the 21st February he was summoned "to repair to the Lords for purposes to be declared to him at his arrival." On the 24th it was decided: "The Bishop of Rochester to be Bishop of London and Westminster, and to have lands of £1000 *per annum* to be appointed by the King's Majesty." On the 5th March letters were ordered to be sent to Sir John York (Sheriff of London) to stay from felling any more of the woods of the see; and this order had to be repeated on the 17th.

Archbishop Holgate of York.

just two years before the King's death by Robert Holgate, Bishop of Llandaff, on being translated to the Archbishopric of York. He alienated to the Crown no less than sixty-seven manors belonging to his new see.[1] Indeed, he had been pretty well accustomed to the process before then. For before he was a bishop he had been forced upon the priory of Watton as their head, and head also of all the Gilbertine Order in England, to which that house belonged. Being then made Bishop of Llandaff, and allowed to hold Watton *in commendam*, he made a free surrender of all the Gilbertine houses to the King, receiving back again the lands of the priory of Watton, to help him, no doubt, to fulfil his duties as President of the Council of the North.[2] Let us, however, by all means give him the benefit of what we are told of his good deeds. The industrious Strype writes [3] of him under Edward VI. in the year 1552 :—

> In this month of May did Holgate, Archbishop of York, the only wealthy bishop then in England, bestow some part of his wealth very commendably, for the benefit of his successors in that see. For he made purchase from the King of the site, circuit and precincts, capital messuage and mansion, lordship and manor of Scrooby in Scrooby, with the appurtenances, in the county of Nottingham, lately parcel of the possessions of the Archbishop of York ; which premises were extended to the yearly value of £37, 8s. 5½d. above all reprises and allocations. To have the premises to the Archbishop and Barbara, his wife, during the life of the Archbishop and Barbara, and either of them living longest, with impetition of waste during the life of the said Archbishop ; and after the departure of the Archbishop and his wife, then to his successors, Archbishops of York, for ever. To hold of the King and his successors in free soccage ; which was purchased by him for the sum of £630, 7s. 6d., May 27.

Having been successful in proving that Barbara was really his wife, and not another man's,[4] it was very good, certainly, in the Archbishop to make proper provision for himself and her during their joint and several lives by buying back from the King a portion of the possessions of the see, and then securing the property to their own use so long as they could enjoy it, allowing it to go back to the succeeding Archbishops of York when neither he nor his wife was alive to use it any more. This was the act of "the only wealthy bishop then in England."

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[1] *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*

[2] *L. P.*, XVI. p. 715.

[3] *Eccl. Memorials*, II. ii. 77.

[4] See p. 244 *ante*.

There seems, however, to have been something in this man not ignoble. It is said that on surrender of his priory of Watton he had a benefice in Lincolnshire, but Sir Francis Askew, a gentleman of the neighbourhood, gave him so much trouble by a lawsuit that he quitted the living and went up to London. After being Lord President of the North, Sir Francis came before him as a suitor in that court, and had little hope of the success of his cause at the hands of his former adversary. But, contrary to his expectation, he found that the Archbishop determined the matter, simply according to right and justice, in his favour. And the Archbishop himself, referring to the matter in conversation with his friends, said jestingly "that he was more obliged to Sir Francis than to any man in England; for, had it not been for his pushing him to London, he had lived a poor priest all his days."[1]

Ponet Bishop of Winchester.

But promotions to bishoprics under Edward VI. were mostly accompanied by still greater alienations of Church property. Of Ponet (or Poynet), Gardiner's successor at Winchester, we are told by Heylyn that he was "purposely preferred to that wealthy bishopric to serve other men's turns. For before he was well warm in his see he dismembered from it[2] the goodly palace of Marwell, with the manors and parks of

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[1] Drake's *Eboracum*, pp. 452-3. The story rests upon the authority of Sir John Harington.

[2] This is fully confirmed by the *Acts of the Privy Council*. See Dasent, iii. 310, 358.

Marwell and Twyford, which had before been seized upon by the lord Protector to make a knight's estate for Sir Henry Seymour. The palace of Waltham, with the park and manor belonging to it, and some good farms depending on it, were seized into the hands of the lord Treasurer Paulet, Earl of Wiltshire; who, having got into possession so much lands of the bishopric, conceived himself in a fit capacity to affect (as shortly after he obtained) the title of lord Marquess of Winchester. But this, with many of the rest of Poynet's grants, leases and alienations, were again recovered to the Church by the power of Gardiner, when being restored unto his see, he was by Queen Mary made lord Chancellor."[1]

Holbeach, Bishop of Lincoln.

The same sort of story is told of the bishopric of Lincoln (except as to the subsequent recovery of its lands) on the promotion of Henry Holbeach from Rochester in the first year of Edward's reign. Strype informs us that thirty-four rich manors belonging to that see were alienated in his time, "though not by his fault."[2] Of Exeter, too, when Coverdale was made bishop in Voysey's place, "the bones," according to Heylyn, "were so clean picked that he could not easily leave them with less flesh than he found upon them." The truth is, Voysey was driven to resign the see on the ground of old age (he was, by his own account, over eighty-seven years old), after having, at the King's request, alienated the fee-simple of a number of manors, and the reversion of certain episcopal rents reserved to him for life, leaving a revenue of £485 : 9 : 3½ only,[1] though the bishopric was valued in 1535 at £1566 : 14 : 6½. In consideration of which great diminution of the emoluments, Coverdale was only charged £50 a year for tenths.[2]

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[1] See Strype, *Eccl. Memorials*, II. ii. 264-5. Fuller, writing a century later, says with charming simplicity: "It seems *some legal formalities were pretended wanting* in Gardiner his deprivation; for in my memory a suit was commenced to overthrow a long lease made by Bishop Poinet (Gardiner's successor in Winchester) on this point, that Gardiner still remained lawful Bishop; but nothing therein was effected." The practical effect of a suit touching private interests so long after Gardiner's deprivation does not concern us. But that the point could be raised even then is very significant. See Fuller's *Church Hist.* (ed. Brewer) iv. 60. As to Ponet, it is characteristic to find that in 1547 he was instrumental, as one of the canons of Christchurch, Canterbury, in taking down out of the church a pix of gold and a crucifix of silver, to be converted into money for the repair of their house. The crucifix had already been sold when the dean and chapter received order from the Council to take back the pix with its "pearls and stones counterfeited," 36½ oz. in weight, and keep it safe in the church. Dasent, ii. 139.

[2] *Eccl. Memorials*, II. ii. 168.

Perhaps a Church gains spiritually by spoliation. But what does the fact say for the nation itself and its rulers? One thing is clear as to the time at which we have now arrived. Subordination of the Church to royal power having been already established by Henry VIII., the progressive principle under royal supremacy had beaten the conservative principle out of the field. Conservative bishops were one and all imprisoned, and Cranmer had now the direction of Church policy, because royal supremacy with a boy king was virtually the supremacy of the Archbishop of Canterbury. And what were Cranmer's views as to the essential principles of the Church at large and the government of a national Church? The nationality of a Church and its geographical limitations did not cut it off, in his view, from communion with other Churches abroad, provided they agreed with England in rejecting papal supremacy; and, as we have seen, he was most anxious to establish a true Catholicity by the aid and advice of foreign Reformers. On the other hand, there were serious stumbling-blocks in the way of a progressive policy; for he could fix nothing as a basis but he was met by a more progressive policy still.

Cranmer's view of a national Church.

So the final defeat of Gardiner—if that could be called a defeat which was simply an unjust sentence with imprisonment and elimination from all possible councils in Church and State—did little to secure the smooth working of a new Church policy. To what lengths the Reformers were advancing we learn best

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[1] Rymer, xv. 282.

[2] *Ib.* xv. 286-8.

Favour shown to John Hooper.

from their own words. Here is John Hooper, one of the two London clergymen who had denounced their own bishop, Bonner, to the Government in September 1549 for his accidental omission, in preaching, to set forth that the fulness of the King's authority was unimpaired by the fact of his tender years. In reward for this service he had been appointed by Cranmer to answer his bishop's sermon at Paul's Cross,[1] the Protector Somerset having already made him his chaplain. On the Protector's fall he was not unnaturally anxious lest Bonner should be restored to his bishopric. But so entirely did Warwick follow up the policy of Somerset that next year Hooper was made a Lent preacher, and shortly afterwards—actually—a bishop. That he should have reached such a position was indeed a strange thing, considering how much he had done in defiance of episcopacy. Nor did he really for his part covet it; on the contrary, he strongly objected to it at first, but it suited the higher powers to promote him. Moreover, well as he stood with them, he was not in favour with the general public; for so his own words testify. Writing at the end of March to Bullinger, after he had only been a year in England, he says: "I have not yet visited my native place" (he was a Somersetshire man), "being prevented, partly by the danger of the rebellion and tumult in those quarters, and partly by the command of the King that I should advance the Kingdom of Christ here at London; nor, indeed, am I yet able to stir even a single mile from the city without a numerous attendance." Was he favoured by the Government with an armed guard?

A little further on he says:—

> But there has lately been appointed a new bishop of London, a pious and learned man, if only his new dignity

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[1] "Item, the xxii. of the same monyth [September] the byshoppe of Cauntorbery caused Hopper to preche at Powlles Crosse, and there he spake moch agayne the byshope of London."—*Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 63.

> do not change his conduct. He will, I hope, destroy the altars of Baal, as he did heretofore in his church when he was bishop of Rochester. I can scarcely express to you, my very dear friend, under what difficulties and dangers we are labouring and struggling that the idol of the mass may be thrown out. It is no small hindrance to our exertions that the form which our Senate, or Parliament (as we commonly call it) has prescribed for the whole realm is so very defective and of doubtful construction, and in some respects, indeed, manifestly impious. . . . I am so much offended with that book, and that not without abundant reason, that if it be not corrected, I neither can nor will communicate with the Church in the administration of the [Lord's] supper.[1]

Surely it was a most extraordinary thing to make an unpopular clergyman bishop in a Church whose appointed ritual he abhorred as "manifestly impious"! But as he hated popery still more, and was a man of undoubted spiritual vigour, the rulers of England set much store by his services and promoted him against his will. Later on in the same letter he speaks as emphatically about the new ordinal, just published, as he had just done against the book of Common Prayer. "I have sent it," he tells Bullinger, "to Master Butler, that you may know their fraud and artifices, by which they promote the kingdom of Antichrist, especially in the form of the oath; against which form I brought forth many objections in my public lecture before the King and the nobility of the realm; on which account I have incurred no small hostility. On the fourth day after the lecture an accusation was brought against me before the Council by the Archbishop of Canterbury. I appeared before them. The Archbishop spoke against me with great severity on account of my having censured the form of the oath. I entreated the judges to hear with impartiality upon what authority I had done so. The question was long and sharply agitated between the bishops and myself; but at length the end and issue was for the glory of God."[1]

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[1] *Original Letters* (Parker Soc.), p. 79.

This honest, but vehement, man had triumphed, even over Archbishop Cranmer, nearly two months before his nomination to a bishopric, which cost him further struggles. But he believed that his own valour as a disputant had also been effective to some extent with Cranmer's chief opponent; and whether he was right in this or not, his words deserve to be noted. For he says in the very same letter:—

Hooper and Gardiner.

> The Bishops of Winchester, London, and Worcester are still in confinement, and maintain the popish doctrines with all their might. The Bishop of Winchester, who is a prisoner in the Tower of London, came forward and challenged me to a disputation about a month since. He doubtless assured himself of a glorious victory; which should he fail in obtaining, he would submit himself to the laws and to the King for punishment. The keeper of the prison had at first accepted the conditions. The day was fixed. But when the Bishop knew for certain that I would not shrink from that duty, but that I would firmly maintain the best of causes, even at the peril of my life, he changed his mind and said that if the King would set him at liberty he would take his part in a disputation, in full reliance on the help of God that he should obtain the victory. What will at length be done I know not. Meantime let us pray that God may be present with us, and that we may fearlessly advance His glory.

This incident does not seem to have been noted hitherto; but it really has some significance. It may seem strange indeed that Gardiner should have challenged such a one as Hooper to a disputation; but there were reasons for it. First of all, as we shall see presently, he had known Hooper of old and had sought to preserve him from heretical tendencies before he went abroad. Yet in 1547, while staying with Bullinger at Zurich, Hooper had published there an answer to a book of his which appeared the year before, entitled *A Detection of the Devil's*

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[1] *Original Letters* (Parker Soc.), p. 81.

Sophistry, wherewith he robbeth the unlearned of the true belief in the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar. And now Hooper had come home and, fortified at first by the patronage of Somerset, had made himself conspicuous by his opposition to Bonner. But the Protector had since fallen from power; and Gardiner, even in prison, had been fondly indulging the hope that the new Government would no longer favour heretics so much. His challenge to Hooper, which the latter dates "about a month since" in the above extract, should by that reckoning have been in February 1550; and no doubt he felt it a positive duty to call to account in some way one whom he knew so well to be a promoter of unorthodox views about the Eucharist. We may, however, take with a grain of salt Hooper's suggestion that Gardiner shrank from the encounter when he found Hooper prepared for it. He was in prison while Hooper was free; he had no liberty to turn up books and exhibit authorities on his side. The logical disputation was postponed, and we may be pretty sure did not take place at all; but certainly not owing to Gardiner's fear of his opponent.

Hooper's early history.

Of Hooper's early history we know several matters which are undoubtedly true, but which it is difficult to relate accurately because we have no exact clue to their chronological sequence. And it is best to begin with his own account of himself written to Bullinger, evidently at the beginning of their correspondence, probably in the year 1546, where we read as follows:—

> Not many years since, most honored master and much loved brother in Christ, when I was a courtier and living too much of a court life in the palace of our King, there most happily and auspiciously came under my notice certain writings of Master Huldrich Zwinglius, a most excellent man, of pious memory, and also some commentaries upon the Epistles of St. Paul which your reverence had published for

> the general benefit, and which will prove a lasting monument of your renown. These singular gifts of God exhibited by you to the world at large I was unwilling to neglect, especially as I perceived them seriously to affect the eternal salvation and happiness of my soul; and therefore I thought it worth my while, night and day, with earnest study and an almost superstitious diligence, to devote my entire attention to your writings. Nor was my labour in this respect ever grievous to me. For after I had arrived at manhood, and, by the kindness of my father, enjoyed the means of living more unrestrainedly, following the evil ways of my forefathers, I had begun to blaspheme God by impious worship and all manner of idolatry, before I certainly knew what God was. But being at length delivered by the goodness of God, for which I am solely indebted to Him and to you, nothing now remains for me, as regards the future of my life and my final destiny but to worship God with a pure mind, etc.[1]

Here we have undoubtedly an excellent account of the man, showing plainly enough the motive power of his thought and action during the whole remainder of his career. But what were his beginnings? He is commonly said to have been born in the end of the fifteenth century, and there was certainly a "John Hoper" who took a B.A. degree at Oxford in 1519.[2] These things by themselves fit together very well, and there is no doubt that he did take a degree at Oxford, and that he was an excellent scholar. The name, moreover, was spelt indifferently Hoper, Hopper, or Howper, even by himself, quite as often as Hooper. But if this graduate were the man we speak of, he had arrived at manhood before 1519, which is not what we should naturally suppose from the above letter written seven-and-twenty years later. It is true the words at the beginning, "Not many years since," do not necessarily apply to all that follows; but we should hardly imagine from the passage that he had reached manhood more than a quarter of a century before. However, there is another positive fact to be noted. He was at one time a Cistercian monk; and though we do not know when he entered the Order, we can tell pretty surely when he left it. For it appears by the sentence pronounced upon him in Mary's time that he had belonged to the small Cistercian monastery of Cleeve in Somersetshire,[1] which was one of the houses dissolved by Parliament among the smaller monasteries in 1536.

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[1] *Original Letters* (Parker Soc.), Letter xxi. Cp. original in *Epistolae Tigurinae*. I have altered a word or two in the translation.

[2] Boase's *Register of the University of Oxford*, i. 108.

Now his words to Bullinger not only do not mention his ever having been a monk at all, but would rather suggest that he never had been one. For they tell us that on attaining manhood he obtained from his father the means of living at ease; and this is the time that we should naturally suppose that he took to a Court life. But here again comes a difficulty, or rather more than one. For the writings of Zwingli and Bullinger would certainly not have induced him to desert the Court for a monastery; and, moreover, those of Bullinger referred to could hardly have been obtainable in England before his monastic life was ended.[2] Possibly the truth is that he did go to Court soon after attaining manhood; that afterwards, taking a serious turn, he returned to his native Somersetshire and entered the monastery of Cleeve; and that again, after the dissolution of that monastery, he relapsed for a while into worldliness, from which he was reclaimed by the study of Zwingli and Bullinger's writings.

Next we find him at Oxford, according to Foxe,[3] "about the beginning of the Six Articles"—that is to say, in 1539 or next year. He had returned to his university probably before the Act passed, and Oxford was no longer a comfortable place for him. Dr. Smith was active in behalf of the law, and Hooper found it advisable to leave. He became steward to Sir Thomas Arundel, who had a personal liking for him, but did not like his tendencies in religion. Hoping to correct these he sent him on a message to Bishop Gardiner. But a four or five days' conference with the Bishop had no effect, and Gardiner sent him back again to Sir Thomas, commending his learning but not his theology. Soon after he found it advisable to escape abroad; but after a brief stay at Paris he came back to England, and was retained for a time by a Master Sentlow. But again being in danger, "he was compelled," says Foxe, "under the pretence of being a captain of a ship going to Ireland, to take the seas. And so escaped he (although not without extreme peril of drowning) through France to the higher parts of Germany."[1] Once abroad, he first corresponded with Bullinger, as we have seen; and Bullinger dissuaded him strongly from going back once more to his country and kin, even for a time, to secure some part of his property,[2] lest he should "participate in the ungodly worship of the mass." No doubt the struggle in his own mind was acute. He was an only son, and his father was set against him if he would not conform to the ordinary religion. He remained abroad, and after staying some time at Strassburg he went to Zurich and made Bullinger's personal acquaintance. He also married, while abroad, a "Burgonian" lady (a Fleming, it would seem) and applied himself studiously to Hebrew.[3]

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[1] See Strype's *Eccl. Mem.*, III. pt. ii. No. xxviii.

[2] Bullinger had published a commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians (printed by Froschover) in 1534, on the Second in 1535. Of these there are copies in the Bodleian Library. But Hooper probably in speaking of his *Commentaria in Paulinas Epistolas* was referring to the edition of his commentaries "in omnes Apostolicas Epistolas" printed by Froschover in 1539.

[3] *Acts and Mon.* vi. 637.

Hooper's adventures.

He remained abroad, as his letters show, till the spring of 1549, when he reached London, full of Swiss doctrine, which, he painfully felt, there were

His return to England

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[1] *Acts and Mon.* vi. 637.

[2] *Original Letters* (Parker Soc.), pp. 34, 40.

[3] Foxe, *u.s.*

few who could venture to propagate in England. "Such," he wrote to Bullinger, "is the maliciousness and wickedness of the Bishops that the godly and learned men who would willingly labour in the Lord's harvest are hindered by them; and they neither preach themselves nor allow the liberty of preaching to others. For this reason there are some persons who read and expound the Holy Scriptures at a public lecture, two of whom read in St. Paul's cathedral four times a week. I myself, too, as my slender abilities will allow me, having compassion upon the ignorance of my brethren, read a public lecture twice in the day to so numerous an audience that the church cannot contain them."[1] There is an undoubted interest in watching the early stages of modern pulpit eloquence. Hooper, indeed, is not at liberty to preach in St. Paul's, but lectures there to such an audience as the church cannot contain! This is pretty well for a newly-returned exile who had fled abroad to avoid prosecution for heresy; and Bonner was his Bishop! We are told, moreover, that he did preach "most times twice, at least once, a day, and never failed."[2] We can very well understand how a clergyman who had such an opinion of "the maliciousness and wickedness of the Bishops" generally had a dislike of his own diocesan in particular, and had no strong feeling of the virtue of canonical obedience. His case surely gives point to the complaint of the bishops in Parliament referred to in the last chapter, which was made at the end of this year. In Hooper they saw a clergyman, now a member of the Protector Somerset's household, who, relying on such patronage (while his brethren generally were tongue-tied by edicts), had just denounced his own bishop, and succeeded in getting him

His "lectures" in St. Paul's.

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[1] *Original Letters*, p. 65.

[2] Foxe, vi. 639. So also says Martin Micronius, writing from London to Bullinger in September 1549: "He lectures at least once a day; more frequently two or three times."—*Original Letters*, p. 557.

deprived for not having completely fulfilled some arbitrary injunctions laid upon him as regards his preaching. But as he considered his own bishop to be "the most bitter enemy of the Gospel,"[1] he was not sorry to be instrumental in putting him down.

Hooper useful to the Government.

Well, this is the sort of man wanted now by the Government of the day to put the Church of England under suitable control, and so they seek to make him a bishop in spite of the opposition of almost all other bishops.[2] He will no doubt co-operate with Ridley in "destroying the altars of Baal," and replacing them by communion tables, and he will do other things besides in a very thorough fashion—at least if you can get him to accept the episcopal office at all; for in his view the new ordinal prescribed by Parliament is "manifestly impious" in some points. It is a thing he hates quite as much as old Catholic-minded bishops do, considering it a product of "fraud and artifice," tending to "promote the Kingdom of Antichrist"—in short, an attempted compromise with Rome, although Rome disowns it. Strange as it may be to make such a man a bishop, his fervour is valuable as against Rome, and he can actually fill St. Paul's with men come to hear his sermons or lectures. If we want to justify the imprisonment of Gardiner, and Bonner, and Heath, and Day, and Tunstall, this is clearly the man for us, and we must even humour his eccentricities a little to get him into the episcopal chair. For "the people in great flocks and companies daily came to hear his voice, as the most melodious sound and tune of Orpheus' harp, as the proverb saith; insomuch that oftentimes when he was preaching the church would be so full that none could enter further than the doors thereof." So says our Martyrologist.[1] And even while he was alive, Dr. Richard Smith, who did not mean to praise him, wrote that "he was so admired by the people that they held him for a prophet; nay, they looked upon him as some deity."[2] There are at all times, and in all countries, plenty of Athenians who desire to hear "some new thing," and surely this was something new when a clergyman opposed to all existing authority in the Church was favoured with the use of large churches by the authorities of the land to denounce the principles that half the clergy, and probably more than half the nation, held by still!

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[1] *Original Letters*, p. 69.

[2] So we are told by John ab Ulmis, writing from Oxford, 28th May 1550, and he says it was the Duke of Somerset's influence that carried the day (*Original Letters*, p. 419). Very likely. Somerset was his old patron, and was now in the Council again. Warwick, no doubt, approved without being quite so fervent.

Hooper's scruples.

The bishopric of Gloucester had become void at the end of the year 1549 by the death of its first incumbent, the last Abbot of Tewkesbury. On Easter Monday, 7th April 1550, it was offered to Hooper by the Lord Chancellor, the see of Rochester being at the same time offered to Ponet. "On many accounts I declined mine," wrote Hooper himself to Bullinger, "both by reason of the shameful and impious form of the oath which all who choose to undertake the function of a bishop are compelled to put up with, and also on account of those Aaronic habits which they still retain in that calling, and are used to wear, not only at the administration of the Sacraments, but also at public prayers." He had an objection, likewise, to the tonsure still in use, but this was not insisted on by the Council.[3] His other scruples were not so easily met. The King himself inquired about them, and on Ascension Day (15th May) he was called before the Council to justify them, when, after much discussion, it was agreed to relieve him at least from the necessity of taking the oath.[4] The result is stated in a minute of the Council held that day: "Mr. Hoper was constituted Bishop of Gloucester."[5] This being apparently settled, he had the satisfaction, for the first time since his return to England, of revisiting his native district, though he was bound to return to London to receive consecration before going to his bishopric.[1] But the Council had gone beyond its powers in promising to relieve him from taking the statutory oath, for they could not thus alter a legal obligation. The bishopric was indeed conferred upon Hooper by patent (according to the new mode of episcopal appointments) on the 3rd July following, but the question still remained whether his exemption from taking the oath could be legally justified. The form of words was, "So help me God, all Saints, and the Holy Evangelists."[2] Hooper was firm in his refusal to swear by God's creatures as well as by Himself. He appeared before the King in Council on the 20th July, and succeeded in convincing his young Sovereign that the oath should be taken in the name of God only, so that Edward with his own pen struck out the objectionable words,[3] and the royal youth wrote in his Journal, under that date, "Hooper was made Bishop of Gloucestre."[4]

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[1] Foxe, vi. 639.

[2] See Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, II. i. 66.

[3] *Original Letters*, pp. 87, 187, 559, 665.

[4] *Ib.* pp. 87, 410.

[5] Dasent, iii. 31.

Warwick accordingly gave Hooper a letter to deliver to the Primate, desiring indulgence for him in the King's name. "The matter," he said, "is weighed by his Highness none other but that your Grace may fairly condescend unto. The principal cause is that you would not charge this said bearer with an oath burdensome to his conscience." This letter was dated on the 23rd July,[5] and, as far as the oath was concerned, may perhaps have lessened Cranmer's difficulty. But even this was a doubtful warrant, and Cranmer referred the bearer to the Bishop of London. Hooper, moreover, had another scruple not so easily dealt with, on which he had to make further application to the King, and what followed will be seen by the report of his sympathiser, Martin Micronius, writing to Bullinger within a month after the facts:—

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[1] *Original Letters*, p. 565.

[2] See Wilkins, iv. 67.

[3] *Original Letters*, pp. 566-7.

[4] Nichols's *Lit. Rem. of Edward VI.* p. 284. Cp. *Original Letters*, p. 566.

[5] Foxe, vi. 641.

Hooper and Bishop Ridley.

> On the 30th July Hooper obtained leave from the King and his Council to be consecrated by the Bishop of London (Ridley) without any superstition. He replied that he would shortly make an answer, either to the Council or to Hooper. While, therefore, Hooper was expecting the Bishop's answer, the latter went to Court and alienated the minds of the Council from Hooper, making light of the use of the vestments and the like in the church, and calling them mere matters of indifference. Many were so convinced by him that they would hardly listen to Hooper's defence when he came into Court shortly after. He therefore requested them that if they would not hear him speak they would at least think proper to hear and read his written apology. His request was granted. Wherefore he delivered to the King's Councillors, in writing, his opinion respecting the discontinuance of the use of the vestments and the like puerilities. And if the Bishop cannot satisfy the King with other reasons, Hooper will gain the victory. We are daily expecting the termination of this controversy, which is only conducted between individuals, either by conference or by letter, for fear of any tumult being excited among the ignorant. You see in what a state the affairs of the Church would be if they were left to the Bishops, even to the best of them.[1]

Nothing surely is more refreshing, or more illuminating in an historical point of view, than to read the sanguine and sympathetic statement of a thorough partizan in a matter like this. Micronius was well aware that he was speaking the sentiments of a small minority which might excite "tumult among the ignorant" if they were too much ventilated; and he relied on the wisdom of the young King and his Council to release Hooper from the bondage of mere "puerilities." He never thought of releasing Hooper's mind from the bondage of puerile objections to them. But let us look at the facts thus revealed, as far as they had gone before the 28th August, when Micronius wrote. The above passage tells us nothing, by itself, of the attitude of Cranmer who was to be Hooper's chief consecrator, but only of that of Ridley, who evidently from the first was a much more formidable obstacle to Hooper's demands being accepted. And knowing what we do of Cranmer, we may well believe, what indeed a previous passage in the same letter shows,[1] that he was a good deal less ready than other bishops to insist on some objections to the King's will which were probably not absent even from his own mind. For the Primate himself could hardly relax the law as to the form of consecration without making himself liable to a *praemunire* if at some future date affairs should take a new turn. At all events, the Council saw that it was necessary to give some kind of assurance on this head; and on the 5th August they sent a letter, signed by six of their leading members, to the Archbishop and the other bishops who were to join in the Act, a dispensation to secure them against "all manner of dangers, penalties and forfeitures" which they might incur by omitting those rights and ceremonies that offended Hooper's conscience.[2] This again Cranmer may have been willing to accept as sufficient; but not so Ridley, whose action in the matter is described above. Our next information is that on the 6th October the Privy Council at Richmond, having previously (so we seem compelled to construe an ill-worded minute) written to Bishop Ridley with a view to the pacification of controversies, he appeared before them and asked leave to put in writing his reasons for not yielding to Hooper's objections; and, this being granted, he was commanded to repair to Court with his answer on Sunday following (which would be the 12th).[1] We know not what passed in the interval, but both Ridley and Hooper were at Court the next Sunday again (the 19th), and there was a violent collision between them, in which Ridley, according to Micronius, loaded his opponent with the greatest insults.[2]

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[1] *Original Letters*, p. 567.

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[1] Hooper had first, according to Micronius, obtained a letter from the King to the Archbishop "that he might be consecrated without superstition." This was just after the King had with his own hand struck out the objectionable words in the oath. "But he (Hooper) gained nothing by this," it is added, "as he was referred from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Bishop of London, who refused to use any other form of consecration than that which had been prescribed by parliament." The question was simply about obeying an Act of Parliament, or disobeying it to please a king in his teens.

[2] Foxe, vi. 640.

Bucer and Peter Martyr advise Hooper to comply,

The situation was an awkward one; for neither party would give way. Hooper appealed to Bucer and Peter Martyr for their advice. Both sympathised with him to some extent, wishing the garments to which he objected had not been imposed by law. But both were of opinion that they were things indifferent, which might be enjoined by law without offence to God; and Bucer even admitted to Cranmer that to declare them unlawful or refuse to wear them as enjoined was to sin against both God and the civil ruler.[3] As to sacerdotal garments being a mark of Judaism, Peter Martyr remarked that even the first Council at Jerusalem ordained some things of Judaic institution, such as abstaining from blood and things strangled, to avoid giving offence. Moreover, tithes were also a part of the Mosaic law; and the Christian festivals of Easter and Whitsuntide were grounded, to some extent, on Jewish ordinances. Martyr also combated many other arguments of Hooper, while Bucer expressed his regret that he should take exception to things immaterial while there was a multitude of much more serious abuses to remedy in England. Erroneous belief and licentiousness, little restrained at the universities; holy rites like baptism and marriage administered without due seriousness; the Lord's Supper almost undistinguishable from the Mass, except that the words were in English; lack of pastoral care, of catechising, of private admonitions, or of public censures; indiscriminate admission to communion; little provision for the poor; abuse of churches as places for commerce and amusement; showiness in dress with vanity of gold and jewels; and together with these things, a sad want of discipline, the parent of them all,—such were the matters that required most amendment from Bucer's point of view.[1]

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[1] Dasent, iii. 136.

[2] *Original Letters*, p. 573.

[3] Strype's *Memorials of Cranmer*, bk. ii. ch. xvii.; Strype's *Eccl. Mem.* II. pt. ii., Rep. of Originals LL, MM, NN (pp. 444-65).

but John à Lasco supports his objections.

There was only one divine of note in England who supported Hooper in this matter, and he was a foreigner — one of the many whom Cranmer had attracted to England to help him in conference as to the dogmatic basis of a national Church. This was John à Lasco, a learned Pole of noble birth who appears at one time to have been nominated Bishop of Veszprim in Hungary, but owing doubtless to the troubles of that country and his own change of religion, could never have been consecrated.[2] In his earlier days he was a friend both of Erasmus and of Zwingli, the Swiss Reformer. He afterwards married at Mainz, and then became superintendent of the Reformed Churches of Friesland—Reformed, but not Lutheran in doctrine. From Emden, where his cure lay, he came to England for a visit on Cranmer's invitation in 1548, but afterwards to settle in the spring of 1550. He arrived on the 13th May,[3] and it was not long before he took up an important position in London. He obtained letters of denization for himself and his family on the 27th June, and on the 24th July he procured a foundation charter granting the church of the late Austin Friars to a community of Germans and other foreigners in London, of which he was named superintendent.[4] Under him were appointed two ministers, of whom one was Martin Micronius, a notable preacher; four elders, one of whom was the no less notable John Utenhovius; and four deacons, ordained in Apostolic fashion, to see to the poor. This community was largely composed of Dutchmen who had fled to England from the Spanish Inquisition, just introduced into the Netherlands, and being in constant correspondence with Bullinger, they sympathised with Hooper as no others did. Their letters patent, granted by the King and Council, exempted them entirely from the jurisdiction of the bishops. Ridley, as Bishop of London, did not like their immunity, as it was naturally an encroachment on his proper sphere of action; but they received great encouragement from Cranmer, who was noted as "the special patron of foreigners."[1]

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[1] Collier's *Eccl. Hist.* v. 388-92.
[2] See *English Historical Review*, xi. 105.
[3] *Original Letters*, p. 560.
[4] Wilkins, iv. 64.

Hooper's obstinacy.

As to Hooper, though he was made Bishop of Gloucester by patent in the beginning of July, he remained unconsecrated all the rest of the year. Long before the end of the year the Council were tired of his obstinacy, especially Warwick; and he had given so much offence that but for the intercession of Cranmer and the Marquis of Dorset (father of Lady Jane Grey) he would by that time have been committed to prison. Both Cranmer and Ridley agreed with him that the habits were objectionable; but they felt that they could not be abolished even by an Order in Council without the consent of Parliament.[2] Hooper, however, maintaining that it was impious and wicked to wear them, cast aspersions on those who were more compliant than himself; and he gave further offence by writing and publishing a book in defence of his opinions. His controversy with Ridley still remained unsettled until the 13th January 1551, when we read in the minutes of the Privy Council[3] as follows:—

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[1] *Original Letters*, pp. 567-8, 570-71.

[2] *Ib.* pp. 426, 486-7, 566-7, 571, 573, 585.

[3] Dasent, iii. 191.

> This day Mr. Hoper, Bishop Elect of Gloucester, appeared before the Council touching his old matter of denial to wear such apparel as other Bishops wear, and, having been before commanded to keep his house, unless it were to go to the Bishop of Canterbury, Ely, London, or Lincoln, for counsel or satisfaction of his conscience in that matter, and further, neither to preach or read till he had further licence from the Council; it appeared, both that he had not kept his house, and that he had also written and printed a book wherein was contained matter that he should not have written; for the which, and for that also he persevered in his former opinion of not wearing the bishop's apparel, he was now committed to the Bishop of Canterbury's custody, either there to be reformed or further to be punished as the obstinacy of his case requireth.

There must be some *ultima ratio* to end disputes, even in cases of conscience—nay, of episcopal conscience, if it will not conform to the law of the land. And exactly a fortnight later we read again in the minutes:—

> Upon a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury that Mr. Hoper cannot be brought to any conformity, but rather, persevering in his obstinacy, coveteth to prescribe orders and laws of his [own] head, it was agreed he should be committed to the Fleet.
>
> A letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury to send Mr. Hoper to the Fleet upon the occasion aforesaid.
>
> A letter to the Warden of the Fleet to receive the said Mr. Hoper, and to keep him from conference with any person, saving the ministers of that house.[1]

They were at this time just about to deprive Gardiner of his bishopric for disobedience such as we have already related. How could they pardon disobedience of a far more unreasonable kind in a bishop of their own selection? It seemed as if he must submit to "popish ceremonies" after all, such as "that he must carry the bible on his shoulders, and put on a white vestment, and, thus habited and bearing the book, turn himself round three times."[1] If he would only consent to do things of this sort, he would at once be liberated. Hooper was left to meditate upon the situation a little more fully in the atmosphere of the Fleet; and his meditations, after more than a fortnight there, were not unfruitful. On the 15th February he addressed a letter to Archbishop Cranmer, written in Latin, to the following effect:—

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[1] Dasent, iii. 199, 200 (Acts of 27th Jan. 1551).

I am very sorry that I did not satisfy the will of the Lords of the Council by my writing. Yet I was in hope that by that writing of mine I had given such satisfaction that they could demand nothing more of me. For what more could I do than, my conscience being freed from every scruple by which it had previously been troubled, refer the judgment of this question to your Clemency and promise to do whatever you ordered? I did not wish by that writing to be contentious, but only to purge myself of any imputation of disobedience and contempt of the King's authority and your Clemency's; and it was to that end that I brought in a few arguments which had hitherto moved me. This also I wished you to understand,—that I now acknowledge the liberty of the sons of God in all outward things; which I neither declare nor feel to be impious in themselves, nor any use of them to be impious in itself. Only the abuse of them, a fault that is possible to all men when they are used superstitiously or otherwise ill, I denounce along with Bucer, Martyr, and all pious and learned men. But as far as I am concerned in this matter of the use of garments and rites of episcopal inauguration, if I still at all doubted or hesitated, yet I should think I fully satisfied every duty of reverence and obedience if, willing to prefer my own sense and judgment to all others, I subject myself to the judgment of your Clemency to do *ex animo* whatever you judge right. That is what I meant by my writing; and now I do and promise the same. For in this matter I have begun to hold my own judgment and sense so far suspected that I hold it wiser and more worthy of Christian humility to stand to, and trust, the judgment of your Clemency, or of those pious men learned in the law of God whom you shall name, than merely to my own. This I do not think is changed in me. I thank your reverend Clemency that you have deigned to submit to so much trouble and labour on my account. I beg you will also intercede with the other lords that they may be content in the name of Christ, and not think of me as if I did anything with dissimulation or fear, or for any other cause except that of the Church. The Lord Jesus is witness, who knows the secrets of hearts. May He always augment by his Spirit your reverend Clemency and bless you with all good things. In prison, 15 Feb. 1551. Your reverence's most devoted JOHN HOPPER.[1]

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[1] *Original Letters*, p. 673.

After all, it may be said in excuse of Hooper's obstinacy that he was made a bishop against his will on conditions which he considered were not kept. But this was hardly a justification. And now he was compelled, apparently as the price of liberty, to accept not only the vestments but even the statutory oath to which he had so much objected; for it is recorded in Cranmer's register that at his consecration, on the 8th March following, he took it with that invocation of God, the Saints, and Evangelists,[2] which Edward himself had struck out with his own pen to satisfy him. The statement in the register may, indeed, be a *fictio juris*, for other evidences hardly bear it out. But if he did not use the unmodified oath, there is no doubt that he agreed to wear the vestments, and that he was set at liberty only on promise to do so. In the words of Foxe: "The bishops having the upper hand, Master Hooper was fain to agree to this condition—that sometimes he should in his sermon show himself apparelled as the other bishops were. Wherefore, appointed to preach before the King, as a new player in a strange apparel, he cometh forth on the stage. His upper garment was a long scarlet chimere down to the foot, and under that a white linen rochet that covered all his shoulders. Upon his head he had a geometrical, that is a four-squared cap, albeit that his head was round. What cause of shame the strangeness hereof was to that good preacher, every man may easily judge."[1]

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[1] The original Latin text will be found in the Parker Society's edition of Hooper's *Later Writings*, Biographical notice, pp. xv. xvi. It may also be consulted in Durel's *Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Vindiciæ*, pp. 140-41, where it was first published.

[2] See Wilkins, iv. 67.

Even lay graduates now wear scarlet gowns and "geometrical" caps, albeit that their heads are round, and do not look upon it as a cause of shame. The spirit of Lollardy has lost much of its strength in the course of centuries. But it was strong among the English correspondents of Bullinger, and in the foreign settlement under John à Lasco. John Utenhovius was grieved to report to Bullinger what had been the end of Hooper's heroism. "He was inaugurated," he writes, "in the usual manner, about the middle of Lent, yet not without the greatest regret both of myself and of all good men, nor without affording a most grievous stumbling-block to many of our brethren—a circumstance that I would not conceal from you, though, from my affection for Hooper, I am very unwilling to make the communication."[2] He adds that he would rather give Bullinger the particulars by word of mouth than by letter; and indeed, having been unable to despatch this epistle for four months for want of an opportunity, he wrote then that he had hesitated much to write such things of one to whom he felt so kindly. But as even prophets and apostles had failings, Bullinger would doubtless bear with the infirmity of a brother Christian.[3]

Hooper's mind, however, was satisfied. The responsibility for those dreadful garments did not rest with him. After his consecration as bishop he preached before the King in his scarlet gown; and then went down to Gloucester to begin his episcopal duties.[4]

Hooper's struggle with authority demands special notice in Church history. It was quite unprecedented in character; but in the days of Elizabeth he had many followers. He was the beginner of what, by the commencement of the seventeenth century, and probably earlier still, had received the name of Nonconformity. The word, as then used, did not mean a separation from the Church of England; for as yet the idea of separate communions was universally condemned. It meant a protest from within the Church of England against certain ordinances laid down by authority, and a refusal to comply with them. Of course, where there was no thought of separation on account of difference of opinions, the contest between those opinions became all the more acute; but it could only yield to authority in the long run if men continued loyal. Hooper yielded after a protracted fight for liberty. But in a later age Nonconformists were more numerous and more difficult to deal with. And here I cannot forbear from quoting the very apposite remarks of the lively Church historian Thomas Fuller, who lived in days when the fruit of Nonconformity was fully developed. It is thus he writes:—

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[1] Foxe, vi. 641.

[2] *Original Letters*, p. 586.

[3] *Ib.* p. 588.

[4] *Ib.* p. 271.

Beginning of Nonconformity.

> Alas, that men should have less wisdom than locusts, which when sent on God's errand, did not thrust one another [Joel ii. 8]; whereas here such shoving and shouldering, and hoisting and heavings, and jostling and thronging, betwixt clergymen of the highest parts and places! For now nonconformity in the days of King Edward was conceived, which afterward in the reign of Queen Mary (but beyond sea, at Frankfort) was born; which in the reign of Queen Elizabeth was nursed and weaned; which under King James grew up a young youth or tall stripling; but towards the end of King Charles his reign shot up to the full strength and stature of a man, able not only to cope with, but conquer, the hierarchy, its adversary.
>
> Two opposite parties now plainly discovered themselves, driving on different interests under their respective patrons:

Founders of Conformity.	*Founders of Nonconformity.*
i. Such as remained here all the reign of King Henry the Eighth, and weathered out the tempest of his tyranny at open sea, partly by a politic compliance, and partly by a cautious concealment of themselves.	i. Such as fled hence beyond the seas, chiefly into Germany, where, living in states and cities of popular reformation, they sucked in both the air and discipline of the place they lived in.
ii. These in the days of King Edward the Sixth were possessed of the best preferments in the land.	ii. These, returning late into England, were at a loss for means and maintenance, only supported with the reputation of being confessors; rendering their patience to the praise, and their persons to the pity of all conscientious people.
iii. And retained many ceremonies practised in the Romish Church, conceiving them to be ancient and decent in themselves.	iii. And renounced all ceremonies practised by the papists, conceiving that such ought not only to be clipped with the shears, but to be shaved with a razor; yea, all the stumps thereof to be plucked out.
iv. The authority of Cranmer and activity of Ridley headed this party; the former being the highest, the latter the hottest in defence of conformity.	iv. John Rogers, lecturer in St. Paul's and vicar of St. Sepulchre's, with John Hooper, afterwards bishop of Gloucester, were ringleaders of this party.

Hooper's activity in his diocese.

But we must not take the measure of Hooper by his narrow-mindedness, which even his letter of submission seems to show that he was outgrowing. Being now consecrated as bishop, he went down to his diocese, where he certainly did a very great work. Here we may well believe the words of Foxe: "No father in his household, no gardener in his garden, nor husbandman in his vineyard was more or better occupied than he in his diocese among his flock, going about his towns and villages in teaching and preaching to the people there. That time he had to spare from preaching he bestowed, either in hearing public causes, or else in private study, prayer, and visiting of schools. With his continual doctrine he adjoined due and discreet correction, not so much severe to any as to them which, for abundance of riches and wealthy state, thought they might do what they listed. And doubtless he spared no kind of people, but was indifferent to all men, as well rich as poor, to the great shame of no small number of men nowadays; whereof many we see so addicted to the pleasing of great and rich men, that in the meantime they have no regard to the meaner sort of people, whom Christ hath bought as dearly as the other."[1]

Nor can we doubt the justice of the same writer's commendation of the way he governed his family, "insomuch that ye could not discern whether he deserves more praise for his fatherly usage at home, or for his bishop-like doings abroad." And an interesting anecdote of Foxe's own experience here deserves notice as regards his later bishopric of Worcester. "Twice," he says, "I was, as I remember, in his house in Worcester, where, in his common hall, I saw a table spread with good store of meat, and beset full of beggars and poor folk; and, I asking his servants what this meant, they told me that every day their lord and master's manner was, to have customably to dinner a certain number of poor folk of the said city by course, who were served by four at a mess with hot and wholesome meats; and when they were served (being before examined, by him or his deputies, of the Lord's Prayer, the Articles of their Faith, and [the] Ten Commandments), then he himself sat down to dinner, and not before."[2]

His visitation of Gloucester.

But of his religious activity as bishop in his diocese of Gloucester we have still better evidence than the words of an admiring contemporary. For he was not long settled before he began a visitation there with very remarkable results. He passed his own clergy through the same examination in all the deaneries of

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[1] *Acts and Mon.*, vi. 643-4.

[2] *Ib.* p. 644.

Gloucester that he afterwards caused the poor men whom he feasted at Worcester to go through. Each of the resident clergy was required to answer three questions upon the Ten Commandments, three upon the Christian Faith (or the Apostles' Creed), and three upon the Lord's Prayer. And an exact record of the answers of each to all the questions has been preserved. The answers elicited are certainly amazing, and leave no doubt that there had been sad lack of episcopal supervision in times past. The number of clergy examined amounted in all to 311, there being besides sixty-two incumbents, who were mostly pluralists and non-residents. Of the 311 examined, 171 were found unable to repeat the Ten Commandments, though all but thirty-three of them could tell the book and chapter in which they were contained. Ten were unable to repeat the Lord's Prayer, twenty-seven could not tell who was its author, and thirty could not tell where it was to be found. Yet some of these could repeat the words of the Prayer without being able to tell who its author was, or where it was to be sought for. A mere parrot utterance of the Paternoster had sufficed, it seems, for some beneficed clergymen. There was scarcely one man utterly unable to repeat the Articles of the Creed, though six did so imperfectly; but very few were able to do what Hooper thought highly important—prove the truth of them by Scripture. Perhaps the most curious answer given to any of the questions was one about the Lord's Prayer. John Dumbell, vicar of South Cerney (a living in the patronage of the Bishop, so he probably owed his preferment to Hooper's immediate predecessor Wakeman, the first bishop of the see), could repeat the Prayer, and knew it was the Lord's Prayer, "because it was delivered by our Lord the King and written in the King's Book of Common Prayer!"[1]

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[1] See *English Historical Review*, xix. 98-121, for the whole visitation.

The prevalence of such dense ignorance among the clergy must have been due to two causes—not only to gross abuse of the rights of patronage, but also to extreme laxity of supervision on the part of the bishops. Gloucester, indeed, was a new diocese carved by Henry VIII. out of the diocese of Worcester; and Worcester may have suffered special neglect before the day that Latimer was made bishop there, sixteen years earlier than Hooper, from having been held a long time by two successive Italian bishops of the same family who lived continually at Rome. But absentee bishops had always vicars-general in England; and we cannot feel by any means certain that the state of other dioceses was not just as bad. If so, more than a twelfth of the rural clergy in England were to all intents and purposes pagans, quite unable to instruct the people, because they were not instructed themselves. And when it is noted that some of these unsatisfactory clergymen owed their preferment not to lay but to episcopal patronage, we see evidence of a state of matters altogether deplorable, which Hooper set himself manfully to correct.

Corruptions of the Church of Rome.

We are accustomed to dwell upon the corruptions of the Church of Rome as very strong arguments in justification of the Reformation. It would, perhaps, be better to say that those corruptions made the Reformation inevitable as soon as the time came when it was possible for some one or other, strong tyrant or perfervid friar, backed by worldly princes, to make a breach in an established system which had the sanction of general support for centuries. The system, indeed, was a wonderful one; it is wonderfully perfect still, if it were only as truly Catholic as it professes to be. Many are caught by its theoretical perfection, and go over to join its communion for that very reason. Protestantism, as opposed to it, seems weak, broken up into a number of sects which certainly cannot all be right, as their principles are opposed to each other; and the Church of England itself confesses once a year to the loss of a godly discipline, for which a poor substitute is found in a "commination service," attended by, perhaps, three or four out of a hundred parishioners. But the most perfect machinery will not work well if it is allowed to rust; and the most perfect system will not save society if there is no power anywhere to enforce its principles. The abuses and corruptions of the Church of Rome, so far as discipline was concerned, were lamented by the best and most loyal sons of the Church all through the Middle Ages. We have seen how they were deplored by Gascoigne in the fifteenth century.[1] They were admitted by Dean Colet,[2] who, however, saw no remedy except in the better enforcement of laws long ago laid down by the Church herself. They were tacitly confessed even by Sir Thomas More; only it was time for him to speak in another tone when he saw the system itself in danger, on which, as he considered, the whole weal of Christendom depended. But the egg was broken now,—even the yolk was running out; and the real safety of Christendom depended on a just respect for secular power, which knew how to make itself obeyed in matters wherein it deserved obedience. As to other matters, if it was tyrannical, men could only testify against wrong by suffering in patience.

Another visitation made at this time by a bishop of the Reformation Church has come down to us; and it shows that, while Bishop Ridley in London took a somewhat different line from that of Hooper at Gloucester, he was no less vigorous in his way. The documents preserved concerning this visitation are two: first, the "Articles to be enquired of," and second, the Injunctions given by the Bishop. A few extracts from the Articles, with a little general description of those passed over, may suffice to show their character:—

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[1] Vol. I. pp. 247-64.

[2] See his Convocation Sermon printed by Lupton at the end of his *Life*, App. C, especially pp. 299, 300: "The way whereby the Church may be reformed into better fashion is not for to make new laws. For there be laws many enough and out of number, as Solomon saith nothing is new under the sun. For the evils that are now in the Church were before in time past; and there is no fault but that Fathers have provided very good remedies for it. There are no trespasses but that there be laws against them in the Canon Law. Therefore it is no need that new laws and constitutions be made, but that those that are made already be kept. Wherefore in this your assembly let those laws that are made be called before you and rehearsed,—those laws, I say, that restrain vice and those that further virtue."

Ridley's visitation of London.

Articles to be enquired of in the visitation of the diocese of London by the Reverend Father in God, Nicholas Bishop of London in the fourth year of our Sovereign Lord King Edward VI., etc.

Whether your curates and ministers be of that conversation of living that worthily they can be reprehended of no man?

Whether your curates and ministers do haunt and resort to taverns or alehouses, otherwise than for their honest necessity, there to drink and riot, or to play at unlawful games?

Whether your ministers be common brawlers, sowers of discord rather than charity among their parishioners, hawkers, hunters, or spending their time idly, or coming to their benefice by simony?

Whether your ministers, or any other persons, have committed adultery, fornication, incest, bawdry, or to be vehemently suspected of the same, common drunkards, scolds, or be common swearers or blasphemers of God's holy name?

Whether your parsons and vicars do maintain their houses and chancels in sufficient reparation; or, if their houses be in decay, whether they bestow yearly the fifth part of the fruits of the benefice until the same be repaired?

Whether your parsons and vicars, absent from their benefice, do leave their cure to an able minister; and if he may dispend yearly £20 or above, in this deanery or elsewhere, whether he doth distribute every year, among his poor parishioners there, at the least the fortieth part of the fruits of the same? And likewise, yearly spending £100, whether he doth find one scholar, at either of the universities or some grammar school, and so for every other hundred pound one scholar?

Whether every dean, archdeacon, and prebendary, being priest, doth personally by himself preach twice every year at the least, either where he is entitled or where he hath jurisdiction, or in some place united or appropriate to the same?

Whether your minister, having licence thereunto, doth use to preach; or, not licensed, doth diligently procure other[1] to preach that are licensed; or whether he refuseth those offering themselves that are licensed, or absenteth himself, or causeth other[1] to be away from the sermon, or else admitteth any to preach that are not licensed?

Whether any by preaching, writing, word or deed, hath or doth maintain the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome?

Whether any be a letter [*i.e.* hinderer] of the Word of God to be preached or read in the English tongue?

Whether any do preach, declare, or speak anything in derogation of the Book of Common Prayer, or anything therein contained, or any part thereof?

Whether any do preach and defend that private persons may make insurrection, stir sedition, or compel men to give them their goods?

These were the twelve first articles to be inquired of, but there were many more, and, strange to say, no less than twenty-eight of those following in the register have been omitted in all printed collections.[2] They are printed by themselves in the Appendix to Townsend's edition of Foxe; and the general drift of these and the remaining articles is as follows:—

Abstract.—Whether any preached or affirmed that all things should be common and we should have no magistrates. Or, that it was not lawful for a Christian to swear before a judge when required; or, when wronged, to seek a remedy by law. Whether any said that Christ took no blood of the Virgin Mary [Joan Bocher had just been burned, 2nd May 1550, for having said He took neither flesh nor blood from her]. Whether the Homilies, Epistles and lessons were properly used, and whether ministers recited "openly and plainly in the pulpit" the Paternoster, Creed, and Ten Commandments in English.

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[1] "Other" was a plural form in the sixteenth century.

[2] See Foxe, vi. App., p. 741, and further, the documents at the end, after p. 782. The Articles were first printed by Bishop Sparrow with the omission above noticed, and afterwards by Wilkins and Cardwell and in the Supplement to the Parker Society edition of Ridley's *Works*. There is also an error in the text of these Articles given by Wilkins and Cardwell which I have corrected by reference to Bishop Sparrow's *Collection of Articles*.

Then come nine articles about "Service," six about Books, and eight about "Sacraments and other rites and ceremonies." Those on Service are to maintain the use of the Book of Common Prayer, and that of the Litany, which is to be said or sung "in the middle alley of the church, kneeling"; to ascertain if the people come regularly to church on Sundays and holy days; whether any "deprave the book" in interludes, plays, songs, rhymes, or by open words; whether any, by threats or otherwise, compel a minister to sing prayers or minister sacraments in any other form; "whether any doth use to talk or jangle in the church in time of service," or ring any bell at such times except in case of necessity; whether innholders or alehouse keepers sell meat or drink during service time; whether grace be said at dinner or supper in any tongue but English, and "whether organs do play away any part of the prayer or service."

As to Books: whether every minister under the degree of B.D. has of his own the New Testament, both in English and Latin, with the Paraphrases of Erasmus, and studies them; whether one "bible of the largest volume" in English be set in some convenient place in the church, and whether the minister discourage any from reading it, "so that it be done quietly without contention" [see what is said about Porter in Vol. II. p. 300]; whether any other primers are used but those set forth by the King or his father, or any other grammar than that set out by the King; "whether any doth use to pray upon beads," and whether a register be kept in which the weddings, christenings, and burials of the week before are entered each Sunday.

As to Sacraments, Rites, and Ceremonies: whether they are reverently administered, and parishioners properly exhorted to the often receiving; whether evil livers or other offenders are admitted before amendment of life and satisfaction to their neighbours; whether the minister receives without one at least to communicate with him; whether he uses elevation, reservation, etc.; whether the parishioners offer "the just value of the holy loaf" every Sunday, etc.; whether the curate admit any one before he be confirmed, or any that know not the Paternoster, the Articles of the Faith, and the Ten Commandments in English; whether curates minister the communion for money, or have trentals of communions; whether any Anabaptists hold private conventicles; whether masses are held in private houses; whether baptism be ministered, except of necessity, at any other time than on a Sunday or holy day, or in any other tongue than English; whether any spake against the baptism of infants. Then come various articles about marriages, about examination of children, keeping of abolished holy days or rites, and so forth.

The Injunctions[1] were as follows:—

His injunctions.

1. That there be no reading of such injunctions as extolleth and setteth forth the popish mass, candles, images, chantries; neither that there be used any superaltaries or trentals of communions. [As masses for the dead were ordered in trentals, *i.e.* thirty at a time ("a month's mind"), so some had begun to do with communions—no doubt, with the same suggestion, that they benefited souls in Purgatory.]

2.[2] That no minister do counterfeit the popish mass in kissing the Lord's board; washing his hands or fingers after the Gospel or the receipt of the holy communion; shifting the book from one place to another; laying down and licking the Chalice after the Communion; blessing his eyes with the sudary [napkin] thereof, or patten, or crossing his head with the same; holding his forefingers and thumbs joined together towards the temples of his head after receiving of the sacrament; breathing on the bread or chalice; saying the Agnus before the communion; showing the sacrament openly before the distribution, or making any elevation thereof; ringing of the sacring bell, or setting any light upon the Lord's board. And finally, that the minister in the time of the holy communion, do use only the ceremonies and gestures appointed by the Book of Common Prayer, and none other, so that there do not appear in them any counterfeiting of the popish mass.

3. That none be admitted to receive the holy communion but such as will, upon request of the curate, be ready with meekness and reverence to confess the articles of the Creed.

4. That none make a mart of the holy communion by buying and selling the receipt thereof for money, as the popish mass in times past was wont to be.

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[1] Printed by Burnet, and in Ridley's *Works*, p. 319 (Parker Soc.). The numbering of the items is mine.

[2] This article, except the last sentence, is almost verbally the same as Article xli. of the Injunctions in Hooper's first visitation of Gloucester. See Hooper's *Later Writings* (Parker Soc.), p. 127.

5. Whereas in divers places some use the Lord's board after the form of a table, and some of an altar, whereby dissension is perceived to arise among the unlearned; therefore, wishing a godly unity to be observed in all our diocese, and for that the form of a table may more move and turn the simple from the old superstitious opinions of the popish mass, and to the right use of the Lord's Supper, we exhort the curates, churchwardens, and questmen here present to erect and set up the Lord's board after the form of an honest table decently covered, in such place of the quire or chancel as shall be thought most meet by their discretion and agreement, so that the ministers with the communicants may have their place separated from the rest of the people; and to take down and abolish all other by-altars or tables.

6. That the minister in the time of the communion, immediately after the offertory, shall monish the communicants, saying these words or such like, "Now is the time, if it please you to remember the poor man's chest with your charitable alms."

7. That the Homilies be read orderly, without omission of any part thereof.

8. That the Common Prayer be had in every church upon Wednesdays and Fridays, according to the King's Grace's ordinance; and that all such as conveniently may shall diligently resort to the same.

9. That every curate be diligent to teach the Catechism whensoever just occasion is offered, upon the Sunday or holy day, and at least every six weeks once shall call upon his parishioners and present himself ready to instruct and examine the youth of the same parish, according to the book of service touching the same.

10. That none maintain Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, the Six Articles, bede-rolls, images, relics, rubric primers, with invocation of saints, justification of man by his own work, holy bread, palms, ashes, candles, sepulchre paschal,[1] creeping to the Cross, hallowing of the fire or altar, or any other such like abuses and superstitions, now taken away by the King's Grace's most godly proceedings.

11. That all ministers do move the people to often and worthy receiving of the holy communion.

12. That every minister do move his parishioners to come diligently to the church; and when they come, not to talk

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[1] The Easter "Sepulchre" in church, in which the Sacrament was kept after the mass of Maundy Thursday till the morning of Easter day.

or walk in the sermon, communion or divine service time, but rather at the same to behave themselves reverently, godly and devoutly in the church; and that they also monish the churchwardens to be diligent overseers in that behalf.

13. That the churchwardens do not permit any buying, selling, gaming, outrageous noise or tumult, or any other idle occupying of youth in the church, church porch or churchyard, during the time of common prayer, sermon or reading of the homily.

14. That no persons use to minister the sacraments, or in open audience of the congregation presume to expound the Holy Scriptures, or to preach, before they be first lawfully called and authorised in that behalf.

God Save the King.

Hooper's assiduity in preaching.

To return to Hooper, we find evidence, as may be imagined, that his higher duties as bishop did nothing to relax his old assiduity in preaching; and his wife is driven to appeal to Bullinger—so far off, at Zurich—even to urge him to spare himself. "I entreat you," she writes, "to recommend Master Hooper to be more moderate in his labour; for he preaches four, or at least three, times every day; and I am afraid lest these over-abundant exertions should cause a premature decay." Both she and her husband had other causes for anxiety, fearing that riots would break out in consequence of the dearness of provisions, which everywhere made the ruling classes unpopular, though there was abundance of corn; and as to her husband's preaching, there was the greatest possible desire of multitudes to hear him.[1] In the summer, first he himself and then his wife, with five others of his household (chaplains and domestics), were attacked by the sweating sickness, which raged in the west, as it did in London; but the crisis, as usual in that disease, was past in twenty-four hours, and the whole of them escaped.[2] Next year, after Heath had been deprived of his bishopric of Worcester, the Council gave that bishopric to Hooper *in commendam*, to hold along with Gloucester. But at the end of the year another arrangement was made by the union of the two bishoprics, and the united diocese of Worcester and Gloucester became exactly what the diocese of Worcester was before Gloucester was taken out of it.

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[1] *Original Letters*, p. 108.

[2] *Ib.* p. 94.

The Gloucester clergy revert to old ways in his absence.

In July 1552 he began a visitation of Worcester; but was soon compelled to return to Gloucester, where the loss of his personal influence had at once produced serious effects. "The negligence and ungodly behaviour of the ministers in Gloucestershire"—so he writes to Cecil on the 6th July—"compelled me to return, except I should leave them behind as far out of order as I should find the other to whom I am going unto." Whatever crowds flocked to his preaching, it was clearly not an easy thing to get the clergy to accept a new religious settlement; and he desires help from headquarters. "For the love of God," he goes on to say, "cause the Articles that the King's Majesty spoke of when we took our oaths to be set forth by his authority. I doubt not but they shall do much good; for I will cause every minister to confess them openly before their parishioners. For subscribing privately in the paper, I perceive, little availeth; for, notwithstanding that, they speak as evil, of good faith, as ever they did before they subscribed. I left not the ministers of Gloucestershire so far forward when I went to London, but I found the greatest part of them as far backward at my coming home. I have a great hope in the people. God send good justices and faithful ministers in the Church, and all will be well."[1]

It was probably to allow him to proceed without hindrance in the visitation of Worcester that he appointed superintendents in Gloucestershire to look after the clergy in his absence. But when he went to Worcester it was only to encounter new troubles at the hands of two canons of the cathedral there, named Henry Joliffe and Robert Johnson. He brought with him a new set of articles, partly the same that he had used in his Gloucester visitation; and these two canons raised objections to which he alludes in a letter to Cecil from Worcester, dated the 25th October 1552.[1] An account of the controversy was published twelve years later by Joliffe at Antwerp, he being then an exile in the days of Queen Elizabeth.

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[1] Biographical Notice prefixed to Hooper's *Later Writings*, edited by Nevinson (Parker Soc.), p. xviii.

Hooper and Sir Anthony Kingston.

Before we leave the story of Hooper, and what he did in the brief reign of Edward VI., there is yet one incident characteristic of his rule as bishop which it would be a pity to omit. But it is better to let John ab Ulmis tell it in his letter to Bullinger, written from Oxford on the 4th December 1551:—[2]

> When he was lately accused by certain persons of acting with severity in the discharge of his function towards tradespeople and those of the lower orders, but lax and indulgent towards those of higher rank, "My brethren," he says, "I wish you would bring before me any of the chief nobility whom you can prove by positive evidence to have been guilty either of fornication or adultery, and you may punish me with death if I fail to convince you of the impartiality of my proceeding to all alike." It happened some days after that Sir Anthony Kingston, a man of great influence, was accused of adultery before Hooper. Hooper cited him into his court, but the knight at first refused to make his appearance. Induced, however, at length, as I suppose, by the hope of impunity, he waited on the Bishop, and, being severely rebuked by him, gave him a blow on the cheek before all the people, and loaded him with abuse. Hooper laid the whole matter before the Government. The Council summoned the man forthwith, and treated him so severely that it would have been better for him to have endured anything rather than the punishment inflicted on him by the Government. For he was both mulcted in the penalty of £500,

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[1] Biographical Notice prefixed to Hooper's *Later Writings*, edited by Nevinson (Parker Soc.), p. xix.

[2] *Original Letters*, p. 441.

and handed over to Hooper to be dealt with according to law and custom, to do penance; which kind of punishment is the most shameful and disgraceful of any.

However other bishops might be controlled and forbidden to exercise their functions, it would not have suited the policy of the Council to play the same game with Hooper. He had submitted to take upon himself the office of bishop when they insisted on it; but having done so he meant to be a bishop indeed. He revived the old Church discipline, which had been so lax, without fear or favour; and his action in this case, as we know, had a most beneficial effect. Sir Anthony Kingston had been provost-marshal in the suppression of the Western rebellion, and was not one whom the Government would have cared to punish for their own sakes. But they could not allow him to insult Bishop Hooper with impunity and slight his authority. It is to be feared, however, that the punishment he underwent at this time did little permanent good to a singularly brutal character.[1]

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[1] The story told by Grafton in his *Chronicle* (ii. 519, 520) of the way he caused the unconscious Mayor of Bodmin to put up gallows for his own execution is very well known. And Mrs. Rose Troup informs me that although he received a pardon from Queen Mary, there are evidences of his complicity in the Dudley conspiracy against her in 1556, in which year he died.

CHAPTER III

DESTROYING "THE ALTARS OF BAAL"

IT might be considered that the religious revolution which began after the death of Henry VIII., notwithstanding its severity towards those who clung to old Church principles, tended on the whole to religious toleration. On this account high praise has been given to the government of Somerset, who, within a year of Henry's death, not only mitigated the treason laws but repealed the Act of the Six Articles and all previous laws for the punishment of heresy. Under him, moreover, the religious changes made by authority were really moderate in character. The first Order of Communion did not abolish the Latin mass of the priest, and the first Prayer Book made no such changes as Gardiner himself could not conscientiously accept. But, as we have seen, it was a grave constitutional question whether he and the Council had a right, during the King's minority, to authorise such changes as they did, and both Somerset and those who bore rule along with him were extremely touchy upon the subject. For this reason it was that both Gardiner and Bonner were imprisoned, while at the same time real disobedience to existing law—when it was a law that the Protector and Cranmer wished to repeal—was connived at and encouraged. In short, the religious liberty promoted by Somerset was a religious liberty for heretics, not for those who desired to worship as their fathers

Comparative mildness of Somerset's government.

had done. Not even the Princess Mary was left unmolested when she endeavoured to do that.

We might praise Somerset for the gentleness and clemency attributed to him as a fault. Undoubtedly he was far more popular than Warwick and the other lords, and just because he was less tyrannical. But men who take a leading part in a revolution ought to consider beforehand how far that revolution must necessarily carry them, and Somerset certainly had not counted the cost. The original separation of England from Rome had been effected by royal authority, and the people submitted because they believed that Henry VIII. knew his ground a good deal better than they did. To follow up the revolution everything had to be done by royal authority still — nominally by that of his little Majesty, Edward VI., belauded by Reformers as a miracle of nature, and a full-grown man in wisdom; but, of course, while he had a Protector, it was all really done by the Protector exercising royal power. And Somerset was not the man to balance political and spiritual power in the way Henry VIII. had done—to mark the side of the horizon on which one might discern threats of stormy weather, and to make provision accordingly. Henry VIII., moreover, had his way in the world by being (after a certain fashion) a man of principle; he had a principle to meet every case, so as to justify the line he chose to take up, and to bear down all opposition. No feeble sentimentality ever stood in his way. Somerset was selfish enough, but he was not equally politic. He did not always measure truly the degree of severity his policy required; and it was inevitable that in the end power must pass from his hands to those of one more like Henry VIII. himself, who could take the exact measure of every situation, and see the precise principle involved.

Just two years after his fall, this was clearly

Warwick's ascendancy.

appreciated by John ab Ulmis, who wrote about his successor Warwick as follows :—[1]

> He almost alone, with the Duke of Suffolk, governs the State, and supports and upholds it on his own shoulders. He is manifestly the thunderbolt and terror of the papists. When the Duke of Somerset last year, at the urgent entreaty of the King's sister, had given her licence still to attend mass and have access to her sacrificing knaves, and was unwilling to restrain her in any respect, Warwick is reported to have been very angry with him, and to have said, "The mass is either of God or of the Devil. If of God, it is but right that all our people should be allowed to go to it; but if it is not of God, as we are taught out of the Scriptures, why then should not the voice of this fury be equally proscribed to all?" Scarce a year had elapsed from this expostulation, when, lo! the wretched and calamitous fall of the Duke of Somerset, by which he is hurled headlong from the highest pinnacle of his power; and doubtless for this special reason, that he was of a more gentle and pliant nature in religious matters than was befitting a nobleman possessed of so much authority. Warwick, therefore, as soon as he had succeeded into his office, immediately took care that the mass-priests of Mary should be thrown into prison, while to herself he entirely interdicted the use of the mass and of popish books.

That is the way to do things if you mean to be effective. First have a clear principle laid down; be sure also that you can carry it out without interference; then force the greatest in the land to obey, however they may grudge at it. And we have seen already how Warwick secured himself in the matter of principle by referring it to divines, and then seemed to carry it out almost in spite of the advice given him by his referees! For even divines are politicians, and have their weaknesses; and when Cranmer and Ridley and Ponet, then of Rochester, were asked for their spiritual advice on the grave question of tolerating Mary's mass, they were appalled by the serious political danger that threatened if they said that it was to be put down at all hazards. No doubt "idolatry" was utterly detestable in itself, but they thought it might be winked at in a crisis for the safety of the nation. Warwick, however, saw through the political clouds a good deal more clearly than they did. He knew the Emperor's difficulties, and was not afraid that he would interfere. So he determined that Mary should not have her mass at all.

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[1] *Original Letters* (Parker Soc.), p. 439.

Renewed interference with Mary and her household.

Not long after her interview with her brother, the Council not only sent to the Fleet, as we have seen, two conspicuous men for hearing mass in her house, but they examined her controller, Robert Rochester, as to how many ordinary chaplains she had. He told them four—Dr. Mallet, Hopton, Barker and Ricardes.[1] On the 14th April they sent instructions to the Earl of Shrewsbury to apprehend Dr. Mallet and send him up.[2] On the 29th he was brought before them and "examined what he meant that, after he had been once forgiven, he would again wilfully offend the King's Majesty's laws in saying of mass and other like matter?" The record goes on to say that he "could not deny but he had done evil in so doing; so that, partly having confessed his faults, forasmuch as, besides his lewd doings, he also had (*sic*) and persuaded certain others of the King's subjects to embrace his naughty opinions, he therefore was committed to the Tower."[3] This Mary learned by report, not by information from the Council, and she wrote to them on the 2nd May to express her surprise and regret, wishing to know what his offence was.[4] The Council expressed no less astonishment at her inquiry, as she was aware that he was an offender against the King's laws, and they had already written to her, five months before,[5] that he might be delivered to the Sheriff of Essex. His new committal was simply for a repetition of his old offence.[1] Mary replied on the 11th that she had heard that he had been indicted, but did not know that he had been condemned. But she must confess that what he had done he did at her command, being assured by her that none of her chaplains should be in danger of the law for saying mass in her house; and she begs that they will set him at liberty, not to falsify her word. "And if you have cause," she adds, "to charge my chaplain for this matter, lay that to me, and I will discharge it again by your promise made to the Emperor's Majesty, which you cannot rightfully deny; wishing rather that you had refused it in the beginning than, after such promise made, and to such a person, to seem to go from it; which, my lords, as your very friend, I desire you to consider."[2]

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[1] Dasent, iii. 240.
[2] *Ib.* p. 258.
[3] *Ib.* p. 267.
[4] Foxe, vi. 18.
[5] See p. 195.

The Council, however, had considered very well, and were not afraid of the Emperor's interference. Their news from Germany was encouraging; for not only did Magdeburg hold out well against the siege laid to it by Duke Maurice of Saxony, but those within had taken the Duke of Mecklenburg prisoner and made a successful foray in January, by which they revictualled the town.[3] Nevertheless, the Council forbore to reply to Mary for over a fortnight, and wrote on the 27th excusing the delay by matters of State. As to her insinuation that Dr. Mallet was indicted but not condemned, her informant should have told her "that by the Act of Parliament, if either Mallet hath been convicted by the oaths of twelve men, or that the fact hath been notorious, then the punishment doth follow justly. The truth of the one and the other way of conviction in this case is notorious enough, besides his flying from the process of the law." It was quite true that under the Act of Uniformity of 1549 (2 and 3 Edward VI. cap. 1) an offender might be convicted, as above, "either by verdict of twelve men, or by his own confession, or by the notorious evidence of the fact," and be imprisoned and compelled to forfeit his benefices. The Council further regretted that Mary took her chaplain's fault upon herself and was ready to defend one whom the law condemned. As to the promise made to the Emperor, they had already explained that; and the temporary licence given her once to have mass said before herself could never cover Dr. Mallet's act in saying mass at one of her houses when she was not there. Moreover, neither of the Imperial ambassadors, the former or the present one, ever made suit in behalf of any one but Mary herself; and Dr. Mallet was not privileged. Such was the Council's answer.

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[1] Foxe, vi. 18.

[2] *Ib.* vi. 19.

[3] See Edward's Journal, April 2.

Mary pleads in vain for her chaplain's release.

Mary wrote again on the 21st June, saying that she understood by the bearer of her letters that they desired to please her, but she had not heard from them whether they would set her chaplain at liberty or not, and she urged the matter again, "being not a little troubled that he is so long in prison without just cause, seeing the matter of his imprisonment is discharged by the promise made to the Emperor's Majesty, as in my late letter I declared unto you."[1] To this the Council replied on the 24th, apologising partly by their occupation in the King's business for not having given her a satisfactory answer. They were sorry she desired Dr. Mallet's release as it was a thing they could not grant consistently with their duty to the King. "So necessary a thing it is to see the laws of the realm executed indifferently in all manner of persons, and in these cases of contempt of the ecclesiastical orders of this Church of England, that the same may not, without the great displeasure of God and the slander of the State be neglected; and therefore your Grace may please to understand that we have not only punished your chaplain but all such others whom we find in like case to have disobeyed the laws of the King's Majesty." As to the promise by which she would excuse her chaplain, they assured her that not one of the Council had ever been privy to such a promise "otherwise than hath been written."[1]

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[1] Foxe, vi. 20.

This ended the correspondence for a time. Mary could no longer hope effectually to intercede for her chaplain. But eight weeks later, on the 9th August, there was a Council at Richmond, at which it was resolved that as the long sufferance of Mary's doings had been "occasion of diversity of opinions, strife, and controversy in this realm," the head officers of her house "should be sent for and charged that from henceforth they shall not permit nor suffer any other divine service to be done or used within the said lady Mary's house than is set forth by the laws of this realm." The chaplains also were to be charged "not to presume" to say any mass henceforth, and the other servants not to be present at any on pain of His Majesty's indignation and punishment by law.[2] It was further determined at the same meeting that as by the report of the English ambassador, the Emperor desired leave for his ambassador in England to have mass in his house "after the Popish manner," and yet his Imperial Majesty would not allow the English ambassadors to have in their houses the communion and other divine services according to the laws of England, the ambassador should be directed to show the Emperor the unreasonableness of this answer, and that the King could not permit the Imperial ambassador to use their manner of service unless the King's ambassador had the like permission to use the English form.[3]

Thus the Council had made up its mind that no religion except its own should be allowed in

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[1] Foxe, vi. 20.

[2] Dasent, iii. 329.

[3] *Ib.* p. 330.

No religion allowed but one.

England, even to the Princess Mary or to the Emperor's ambassador. They might indeed make an exception to the Emperor's ambassador as the representative of a foreign power, if the Emperor would likewise recognise the right of England's representatives at Brussels or elsewhere, to use the English form of religion; but only on that condition. The position laid down was painfully logical; it was the State Church principle, now in its infancy but extremely perplexing to the veteran statesmen and crowned heads of Europe, who nevertheless were bound to accept it in the long run, simply because there was no escape from it. The Emperor could but rage internally and submit; he could do nothing against England. But the Princess Mary was not so easy to manage. On the 10th, the day after the Council had come to these resolutions, they ordered letters to be sent to the officers of her household to repair to Court on Thursday following, that is, the 13th.[1]

Mary's own household officers charged to forbid saying of mass in her house,

The Council was now at Hampton Court; but it was only on the 14th that the persons summoned appeared before them, viz., Robert Rochester, the controller of her household, Edward Walgrave (or Waldegrave), one of her Council, and Sir Francis Englefield. The decree made at Richmond on the 9th was read to them and they received orders to call before them her chaplains, "and not only to inhibit them from further saying of mass or other ministrations of any manner of ceremonies before her, or within her house, or in any other place, contrary to the order of the King's Majesty's laws, but also to see that neither they themselves nor any other of her family presume to hear any mass or other such forbidden rites or ceremonies in any manner of wise contrary to the King's Majesty's laws, nor to suffer any such to be used or ministered, not only upon the pains limited by the same, but also of the King's high indignation and displeasure." Rochester protested very strongly against having such an ungracious task imposed upon him; but they would hear of no excuse. On his allegiance, they told him, he must see it performed; and if his mistress chose to dismiss him and the rest from her service on delivering such a message, they were neither to quit her service nor leave her house, but see the order fulfilled till they had other orders from the Council.[1]

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[1] *Ib.*

The three gentlemen appeared before the Lords again at Windsor on Saturday, the 22nd, to report what they had done in consequence. On the previous Saturday, the 15th, they had arrived at Copthall, where the Princess was then staying, rather late at night, and could not execute their orders till Sunday morning, the 16th; then, as she that morning received the Sacrament, they waited till the afternoon, and after she had dined they delivered their letters (one apparently was from the King himself[2]), "praying her Grace to be contented to hear the same."

which she strongly resents.

She replied that she knew quite well from the letters what their commission was; but after some pressing she agreed to hear it. When they had delivered their message "she seemed to be marvellously offended with them, and charged them that they should not declare that same they had in charge to say, neither to her chaplains nor family; which, if they did, besides that they should not take her hereafter for their mistress, she would immediately depart out of the house." Her colour came and went during the interview, and she was so deeply moved that the gentlemen durst not press her further lest it should bring back "her old disease" (her health had never been robust). They only begged her to consider the matter at leisure, and they would wait upon her again on Wednesday following. Meanwhile they forbore declaring their charge to her chaplains and household. But when they came to her on the Wednesday,[1] they only found her more angry than ever; and under the circumstances they felt it simply impossible to execute their charge at all. They only brought back a letter from Mary to the King, dated from Copthall on the 19th, declaring how much she was troubled that any of her servants should attempt to move her in matters touching her soul—a thing which she thought the meanest subject "could evil bear at their servants' hands." She had altogether refused to talk with them upon the subject; but she fervently appealed to her brother to allow her still the accustomed mass, which the King their father and all his predecessors had used. She had been brought up in the use of it; her conscience bound her to use it; and by the promise which the Council had made to the Emperor she was assured that she might do so without offending the laws. She also reminded Edward of their last interview, when she told him she preferred death to giving up her mass, and he, as she said, made her "a very gentle answer." She could not believe that his letters now, though signed by him, were really his, because, great as his gifts were for his years, it was impossible he could be at his age a judge of religious matters, and she hoped he would bear with her as hitherto till he could understand such matters himself.[2]

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[1] Dasent, iii. 333.

[2] See Edward's Journal under the 14th; "another to herself from me."

The three gentlemen were rebuked by the Council for not having fully carried out their instructions; and pains were taken with each of them apart to

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[1] Perhaps Thursday is meant, for it is called the 20th, and the messengers made their report on the 22nd at Windsor.

[2] Dasent, iii. 338-40; also in Foxe, vi. 21.

Her servants refuse to persecute her further.

return and do as they were commanded, on their allegiance. But every one of them refused, saying they would rather endure whatever punishment or imprisonment the Council should think meet for them; and Sir Francis Englefield protested that he could neither find it in his heart nor conscience to do as desired. It was accordingly determined to send a new embassy who should carry a reply from the King to his sister.

So high officials are sent to coerce her.

The King replied to her by a letter under his signet, formally dated at Windsor, the 24th August, the fifth year of his reign. It was hard and official, regretting that he perceived no amendment in her. His sufferance hitherto had been prompted rather by natural love than by duty; and, not to be found guilty before God any longer, he sent to her the Lord Chancellor Riche (a fine conscientious monitor, truly!) with Sir Anthony Wingfield, Controller of the Royal Household, and Sir William Petre, one of the two principal Secretaries of State. Their instructions were to show that they were sent because her own three servants had so negligently, indeed falsely, executed their charge, and had actually refused, before the King's Council, to do the duty of faithful subjects, so that it was impossible to refrain from punishing them; yet in the manner of punishment His Majesty and the Council had such consideration of her as his sister that he could not have shown the like favour to the dearest councillor he had, if he had offended. Then they were to answer again her allegation of the promise to the Emperor; also to assure her that they had no intention of doing her any bodily harm, but the King was moved by conscience to avoid offence to God and to see his laws executed. As the absence of Rochester might be inconvenient to her for the affairs of her household, the King had sent "a trusty, skilful man of his own household," instructed by Rochester, to serve in his place.

Then having thus explained to Mary the object of their mission, they were to call before them the rest of her household, and, in the King's name, strictly forbid the chaplains "to say or use any mass or kind of service, other than by the law was authorised," and also forbid the rest of the company to be present at any such prohibited service, on pain of the King's indignation. Any who disobeyed this order were at once to be committed to prison.[1]

Thus the matter was clear. The Council were in no fear of interference by any other power, at home or abroad, in the work of religious persecution. Nothing but complete coercion would serve their purpose now, and the heiress presumptive to the throne must submit, like everybody else, to a law which more than half the people, probably, if they durst speak their minds, considered of very doubtful authority. But the law of force carries its own warranty. Mary received the unwelcome visitors at Copthall on Friday the 28th, and their own report to the Council tells us how. When the Lord Chancellor delivered to her the King's letters "she received them upon her knees, saying that for the honour of the King's Majesty's hand wherewith the said letters were signed, she would kiss the letter, and not for the matter contained in them; for the matter, said she, I take to proceed not from His Majesty but from you of the Council."[2]

Her remarks on the King's letter,

She read the letter secretly to herself, and remarked in the hearing of her visitors, "Ah! good Master Cecil took much pain here." When the Lord Chancellor began to speak she prayed him to be brief. "I am not well at ease," she said, "and I will make you a short answer, notwithstanding that I have already declared and written my mind to His Majesty plainly with mine own hand." Then the Lord Chancellor told her that the King, having used all gentle means to induce her to comply with the religion set forth by law, and finding that she would not conform but remained in her former error, had resolved, "by the whole estate of His Majesty's Privy Council, and with the consent of divers others of the nobility, that she should no longer use the private mass, nor any other divine service than is set forth by the laws of the realm." And they offered to show her the names of all persons in the Council when this resolution was taken. But she told them she cared not for their names; "for, said she, 'I know you be all of one sort therein.'"

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[1] Dasent, iii. 340-46; Foxe, vi. 21-23.

[2] *Ib.* p. 348.

and her reply to the message.

Then they told her they were charged to forbid her chaplains to say mass and her attendants to hear it. In her reply she protested her willingness to obey her brother in anything, and even to suffer death to do him good; but sooner than agree to use any other service than that which was used at the time of her father's death, she would lay her head upon the block. "But," said she, "I am unworthy to suffer death in so good a quarrel. When the King's Majesty," said she, "shall come to such years that he may be able to judge these things himself, His Majesty shall find me ready to obey his orders in religion; but now in these years, although he, good sweet King, have more knowledge than any other of his years, yet is it not possible that he can be a judge in these things. For if ships were to be sent to the seas or any other thing to be done touching the policy and government of the realm, I am sure you would not think His Highness yet able to consider what were to be done; and much less," said she, "can he in these years discern what is fittest in matters of divinity. And if my chaplains do say no mass I can hear none, no more can my poor servants. But as for my servants, I know it shall be against their wills, as it shall be against mine; for if they could come where it were said, they would hear it with good will. And as for my priests, they know what they have to do. The pain of your laws is but imprisonment for a short time, and if they will refuse to say mass for fear of that imprisonment, they may do therein as they will; but none of your new service," said she, "shall be used in my house, and if any be said in it I will not tarry in the house."

They then explained to her, as instructed, for what causes the Council had appointed her servants, Rochester, Englefield, and Walgrave, "to open the premises to her," and how ill they had conducted themselves in the charge committed to them. She said it was not the wisest counsel to appoint her servants to control her in her own house, especially as they knew her mind well enough, and if they refused to do their message they were the honester men, for otherwise they would have spoken against their consciences. But as to their punishment, my Lords might do as they thought right.

In further conference she stood to her assertion about the promise made to the Emperor, "and that the same was granted once before the King's Majesty in her presence, then being there seven of the Council," notwithstanding the Lord Chancellor's denial of it when he was last with the King. (Of how much value this denial by an old perjurer was, it is needless to point out.) "And I have," quoth she, "the Emperor's hand, testifying that this promise was made, which I believe better than you all of the Council; and though you esteem little the Emperor, yet should you show more favour to me for my father's sake, who made the more part of you, almost of nothing. But as for the Emperor," said she, "if he were dead I would say as I do, and if he would give me now other advice I would not follow it. Notwithstanding," quoth she, "to be plain with you, his ambassador shall know how I am used at your hands."

Still following their instructions, they then "opened the King's Majesty's pleasure for one to attend upon her Grace for the supply of Rochester's place during his absence." Her answer was that she would appoint her own officers—she was old enough for that; and if they left any such man she would go out of her gates, for they two would not dwell in one house. "And," quoth she, "I am sickly, and yet I will not die willingly, but will do the best I can to preserve my life; but if I shall chance to die, I will protest openly that you of the Council be the causes of my death. You give me fair words, but your deeds be always ill towards me." With this she departed into her chamber, after delivering to the Lord Chancellor a ring for presentation to the King with the message that she would die his true subject and sister, and obey him in all things except these matters of religion.

Her household is absolutely forbidden to allow mass to be said.

After she was gone, they called the chaplains and the rest of her household, to whom they delivered the further commands against performing or hearing mass; and the chaplains, after some talk, promised to obey. They likewise charged every one of the household to give notice to the Council in case of any disobedience.

Then after leaving the house, they waited for one chaplain who was not with the rest, when Mary sent for them to speak one word more at a window. They offered to come up, but she insisted on speaking to them from the window, and prayed them to ask the lords of the Council that she might have her controller back again soon, for she was obliged to take account of her expenses herself, "and learn how many loaves of bread be made of a bushel of wheat." "I wiss," she said, "my father and mother never brought me up with baking and brewing, and, to be plain with you, I am weary with mine office."[1]

After this we lose sight of the Princess Mary and her household for some months, except that in October the Lieutenant of the Tower had orders to allow her servant Waldegrave to be conveyed "to some honest house out of the said Tower," where he might be better attended, though still a prisoner, to recover from a quartan ague; and in March following, not only Waldegrave, but Englefield and Rochester, were entirely released for similar reasons of health, that they might take the air in the country. As regards Mary herself, moreover, she and her sister Elizabeth were written to on the 25th October, 1551, about the expected arrival of the Queen Dowager of Scotland at Portsmouth, and her coming to the King's presence on her return to Scotland.[1]

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[1] Dasent, iii. 348-52.

Progress of the Reformation due to coercion.

It is a pleasing delusion that the Reformation made such great strides as it did under Edward VI. purely by its own sweet reasonableness. Coercion did the work, and unless coercion had been very thorough the work would not have been done. Just as John Knox would rather have had an invading army than a single mass in Edinburgh, Warwick was not disposed to allow a single mass to the most exalted person in the land. For it was manifest in this, as afterwards in Queen Elizabeth's day, that if mass were tolerated in one instance, even in an ambassador's household, others would naturally flock to it, and the religion of the Government would be despised. That would have been the way to bring in the Pope again. But superior power must be respected, whether its doings be just or unjust. It will be observed that in Ridley's visitation of his London diocese, in 1550, there was one article quoted above[2] for the setting up of tables instead of altars in churches, in order that "a godly unity" should be observed, as the practice varied in different places, "whereby dissension is perceived to arise among the unlearned." But why a more godly unity was to be attained when the practice varied in different places by enforcing a new form rather than an old one to which the people were accustomed, the Bishop did not think it necessary to state. London, no doubt, was always a chief hotbed of Lollardy, or opposition to old methods of Church government, and tables may have been more popular there than altars. But the process had been going on for some time of putting down altars and degrading them in the basest fashion. "At this very time," writes John ab Ulmis to Bullinger from Oxford as early as November 1548, "those privileged altars are entirely overthrown in a great part of England, and by the common consent of the higher classes altogether abolished. Why should I say more? Those idolatrous altars are now become hogsties" (in the Latin the words are *Aræ factæ sunt haræ*); "that is, habitations of swine and beasts."[1]

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[1] Dasent, iii. 395, 397, 508. Nothing is said, however, of the King's two sisters having taken any part in her actual reception. They are not named in the MS. programme drawn up for it in *Harl.* 290, f. 6.

[2] See p. 287.

Altars made hogsties.

This, it must be observed, was under the Protectorship of the Duke of Somerset, and was not the work of the rabble. We are expressly told that it was done "by the common consent of the higher classes." Apparently the work began with "privileged altars"; and we can very well understand how the aristocracy, largely emancipated from the belief in Purgatory and from any feeling of the necessity of opening their purses to benefit the souls of departed kinsmen, led the way in such a revolution. We have seen already how Somerset himself connived at the destruction of images when it was his function, at least, to preserve good order in the realm; and when good order was preserved, which it was by no means everywhere, it was only because the lovers of ancient order bore their griefs in silence. Conservative feeling got no relief from the displacement of Somerset and the ascendancy of Warwick; and as soon as Ridley was made bishop, London saw very considerable changes. His bishopric was conferred upon him by patent, after the new fashion, on the 1st April 1550, and he began his visitation at St. Paul's within five weeks after, on the 5th May. He preached at Paul's Cross on Whitsunday (the 25th). On Trinity Sunday (1st June) a London clergyman, Dr. Kirkham by name, preached (whether in St. Paul's or elsewhere is not stated) that there was no substance in the Sacrament but bread and wine. Corpus Christi Day (5th June) was not observed as a holiday as hitherto. St. Barnabas' Day (11th June) was ordered by the mayor not to be so kept anywhere in London; and at night the high altar in St. Paul's was pulled down. That day "the veil was hung up beneath the steps and the table set up there." A week later the communion was administered there. Also, on Saturday the 14th, before evening, a murder took place in the cathedral, and two further riots after it within the sacred building. Fighting in St. Paul's became a common thing this year, and nothing was done to stop it.[1]

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[1] *Original Letters*, p. 384.

Changes made by Ridley in London.

Another incident of the year is worth relating in the words of the contemporary chronicler:—

> The last day of August, preached at the Cross Stephen Caston, and there spake against the lady Mary as much as he might; but he named not her, but said there was a great woman within the realm that was a great supporter and maintainer of popery and superstition, and prayed that she might forsake her opinions, and to follow the King's proceedings, as he said. And also he said that King Henry VIII. was a papist, with many opprobrious words of him, as it was heard.[2]

To hear from a preacher at Paul's Cross that Henry VIII. was a papist was something new. No one would have dared to utter it without encouragement from some very influential quarter. But let us note the further progress of the revolution in London in the following year. It was on Palm Sunday, 22nd March 1551, that Sir Anthony Browne and others were sent to the Fleet, as we have seen, for hearing mass in the Princess Mary's house.[1] Next day Ponet, Bishop of Rochester, was promoted to Gardiner's see of Winchester. He and Scory, who was promoted to Rochester soon after in his place, had already been preaching before the King in Lent on Wednesdays and Fridays. On the 24th March, in preparation for Easter, Bishop Ridley caused the iron grates on the north and south sides of the place where the high altar had stood in St. Paul's to be closed up with brick and mortar, and the veil was hung up. On Easter Eve, the 28th, the table was removed from beneath the steps into the midst of the upper choir, and set with the ends east and west, instead of north and south, "the priest standing in the midst at the communion on the south side of the board; and after the creed sung he caused the veil to be drawn, that no person should see but those that received."[2]

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[1] *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, pp. 66, 67.

[2] *Ib.*

These were ritualistic changes of the highest magnitude. Think how far a very few years have carried us. Henry VIII. has been little more than four years dead, but some look upon him now as really a papist! Within a year after his death they legalised communion in both kinds, and very soon followed it up (March 1548) with an "Order of Communion" in accordance with this legal sanction. Yet even then the priest's Latin mass was not abolished; it was allowed to continue till the first Act of Uniformity (January 1549) which brought in the first Prayer Book. Then came the Western rebellion with other outbreaks all over the country, war with France, and the Protector's fall (October 1549), just after they had by a mere mockery of justice deprived Bishop Bonner. But the tide continued flowing faster than ever; more old bishops were deprived, and new ones set in their places. A new ordinal was imposed, hated alike by the old school and by Bishop Hooper; and episcopal visitations of a totally new type were imposed upon the clergy. Where are matters to stop? The revolution will undo some of its own work by and by; for the new English Prayer Book will no more suit some people than the "Order of Communion," which embodied the old Latin mass in an English envelope for the use of laymen. But if we are not to be "Papists" again, we must endeavour to placate revolutionary minds.

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[1] See p. 202.

[2] *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 69; Wriothesley's *Chronicle*, ii. 46, 47. There is a verbal discrepancy between these two accounts of the alterations; but the Grey Friars' writer apparently meant to have said, "and then was the table removed and set beneath the veil [east and west instead of] north and south"; which would be, in effect, what Wriothesley says.

Great heretics still severely dealt with.

Still, as to some matters, we stand upon the ancient ways. For though there are new views which we wish to promote, there are others which we must not allow to spread, even for the peace of society, not to mention our own repute abroad. So when Parliament in the beginning of 1550 passes a great Act of general pardon[1] for offences committed before the 20th January to pacify those implicated in the recent disturbances, it was necessary to except not only those guilty of great crimes, but also heretics of a very pronounced character, whose teaching would undermine the Christian faith altogether. There was accordingly a clause (cl. 13) inserted in the Act as follows:—

"That this Act of free pardon shall not extend to any person or persons which at any time heretofore have offended in these heresies and erroneous opinions hereafter ensuing. That is to say, That infants ought not to be baptised, and if they be baptised they ought to be rebaptised when they come to lawful age; that it is not lawful for a Christian man to bear office or rule in the Commonwealth; that no man's laws ought to be obeyed; that it is not lawful for a Christian man to take oath before any judge; that Christ took no bodily substance of our Blessed Lady; that sinners after baptism cannot be restored by repentance; that all things be, or ought to be, common, and nothing several."

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[1] Statute 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 24.

Joan Bocher.

It is not difficult to understand how, in a state of society where schism was quite as pugnacious as orthodoxy was resolute to put it down, opinions like these were both troublesome and dangerous. One of the heresies above mentioned had already compelled special attention in the case of Joan Bocher, who was condemned for it on the 30th April 1549.[1] She was not burned till a year later, on the 2nd May 1550, after this Act was passed. She may have owed her long respite partly to Cranmer, who had in past years undoubtedly protected her, as we have seen already.[2] But since Henry VIII.'s days her heresies had become more glaring, and such as Cranmer himself could in no wise extenuate. For she maintained that our Lord took no flesh of the Virgin Mary, though the Virgin brought him into the world. She was brought before a Commission issued 12th April 1549[3] for the trial of Anabaptists. Of the other accused persons some recanted and bore faggots, but she was immovable.[4] She felt herself superior to the bench who tried her. "It is a goodly matter," she said, "to consider your ignorance. It was not long ago since you burned Anne Askew for a piece of bread, and yet came yourselves soon after to believe and profess the same doctrine for which you burned her. And now, forsooth, you will needs burn me for a piece of flesh, and in the end you will come to believe this also, when you have read the Scriptures and understand them."[1] Sentence was pronounced against her as a heretic who refused to return to the unity of the Church,[2] and she was delivered by the spiritual tribunal over to the secular arm, just as heretics had been in past times; but execution of the sentence, as we have seen, was suspended for a whole twelvemonth. She was visited in prison by the most distinguished divines of the new school, including Bishop Ridley and Bishop Goodrich; but they failed to make her change her opinion.[3] At last the fatal warrant was issued. Dr. Scory, then Ridley's chaplain, preached at her burning, and she uttered her mind about him freely, saying that he "lied like a knave."[4]

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[1] Wilkins, iv. 43, 44.

[2] Vol. II. pp. 372-3.

[3] Rymer, xv. 181.

[4] *Grey Friars' Chron.*, p. 58.

George van Paris.

Another Commission for the trial of Anabaptists was issued on the 18th January 1551,[5] and it too had one victim. A Flemish surgeon, named George van Paris, had been excommunicated by the Dutch Church at Austin Friars for denying the divinity of Christ. Sentence was passed upon him by the Commission, and after seventeen days' imprisonment, in which he showed himself obstinate in his disbelief, he was burned in Smithfield on the 24th April.

These two were the only cases of heretics burned in the reign of Edward VI. The old heresy laws being repealed, there should not have been even these. But the repeal of the heresy laws was not done in the interests of humanity; it was done to make some old heresies authoritative, and change the basis of acknowledged orthodoxy. Men could call Henry VIII. a papist now because he had treated the Pope merely as a foreign bishop who had no jurisdiction in England; he had never denied the Pope's authority in his own diocese. Papal jurisdiction was even now kept out only by the fact that to recognise it was treason, at least on a third offence. But, as papal jurisdiction was kept out, bishops who would go no further than Henry VIII. did were imprisoned and deprived, to make room for men of more advanced ideas. And ideas were now advancing so rapidly that even the Act of Uniformity and the Prayer Book so recently established could not find room for them all. But the authorities could not allow it to be said that new ideas were carrying them away from Christianity altogether.

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[1] Strype's *Eccl. Mem.*, II. i. 335.

[2] Wilkins, iv. 43. It must be carefully noted that England did not consider herself cut off from the unity of the Church.

[3] Nevertheless she seems to have been hard pressed to defend it. Roger Hutchinson reports an interview with her as follows: "And when I and my well-beloved friend, Thomas Lever, and others, alleged this text against her opinion, *Semen mulieris conteret caput serpentis*, 'The seed of the woman shall grind, or break, the serpent's head,' she answered: 'I deny not that Christ is Mary's seed, or the woman's seed, nor I deny him not to be a man. But Mary had two seeds, one seed of her faith, and another seed of her flesh and in her body. There is a natural and a corporal seed, and there is a spiritual and an heavenly seed, as we may gather of St. John, where he saith, The seed of God remaineth in him and he cannot sin (1 John iii. 9). And Christ is her seed; but he is become man of the seed of her faith and belief; of spiritual seed, not of natural seed, for her seed and flesh was sinful, as the flesh and seed of others.'" Hutchinson's *Works* (Parker Soc.), pp. 145-6.

[4] Stow's *Annals*, p. 604.

[5] Rymer, xv. 250.

Just after the burning of Joan Bocher there issued from the press a poem about her by one Edmund Becke, which the late Mr. Payne Collier reprinted in 1864 in his *Illustrations of Early English Popular Literature* (vol. ii.). It is not in truth very edifying to read, but the title deserves a moment's consideration. It is as follows:—

> A brefe Confutacion of this most detestable and Anabaptistical opinion, That Christ dyd not take hys flesh of the blessed Vyrgyn Mary, nor any corporal substance of her body. For the maintenance whereof Jhone Bucher, otherwise called Jhone of Kent, most obstinately suffered, and was burned in Smythfyelde the ii day of May, *Anno domini* MDL.

No pity was expected for a poor woman who "obstinately suffered" for a perverse opinion like this. There is not much danger of its being shared by many now, and sympathy may lead us to inquire a little more into her past history. Strype cites the testimony of Parsons the Jesuit for the statement that she was at first a great disperser of Tyndale's forbidden New Testaments printed at Cologne, "which books she dispersed in the Court, and so became known to certain women of quality, and was more particularly acquainted with Mrs. Anne Ascue. She used for the more secrecy to tie the books in strings under her apparel, and so pass with them into the Court." Dealing in contraband goods is not a business favourable to morality, even when the laws are bad laws. But such dealings had been favoured by a demoralised Court long ago in the days of Anne Boleyn and of Tyndale, as we have seen already, and the same process, as we have also seen, had been revived in the days of Katharine Parr, who very nearly fell a victim to the consequences of her encouragement of heresy. Let us continue Strype's reference to Parsons about Joan: "The same author writes that she was openly reported to have been dishonest of her body with base fellows, which I charitably suppose may be a calumny, too common with Parsons."

Some traditions of Joan Bocher.

I am quite willing, for my own part, to share Strype's charitable supposition, but not absolutely, I confess, without misgivings; for as to other calumnies of Parsons, a considerable number of them, since Strype's day, have turned out, on fuller investigation, to be positive facts, though some, undoubtedly, which he gave as hearsays, were false surmises and sometimes facts confused in the telling. Nor must we altogether take it for granted, as we are apt to do, that the influence of a new-fangled religion naturally raised its devotees above all base propensities. There is something elevating, certainly, even in fanaticism for the most part, and so I agree with Strype in rather discrediting the calumny here. But to say that a fervid heresy in the sixteenth century could not possibly have lowered its votaries in this way is to say a good deal too much. However, we have seen already how, in Henry VIII.'s time, Joan Bocher had been positively favoured for a while by influential support and protected by Cranmer's commissary against the law.[1] So it is no wonder that her extravagance as a female theologian increased.

John Champneis.

But even in 1548—the year before Joan Bocher's case came before the tribunals—there had been prosecutions for heresy before Cranmer and others. First, there was a sitting at St. Paul's on the 27th April, at which John Champneis of Stratford at Bow (who, apparently from what follows, must have been a preacher) retracted the following "damnable opinions," viz.:—1. That a man, after he is regenerate in Christ, cannot sin: 2. That he had defended that article, granting that the "outward man" might sin, but the inward man could not: 3. "That the Gospel hath been so much persecuted and hated ever since the Apostles' times, that no man might be suffered openly to follow it": 4. "That godly love falleth never away from them which be regenerate in Christ; wherefore they cannot do contrary to the commandment of Christ": 5. "That, that was the most principal of our marked man's [? men's] doctrine, to make the people believe that there was no such Spirit given unto man whereby he should remain righteous always in Christ; which is a most devilish error"[2]: 6. "That God doth permit to all his elect people their bodily necessities of all worldly things." The last proposition was more clearly expressed in the words by which he renounced it, confessing "that God doth not permit to all His elect people their bodily necessities of all worldly things to be taken, but by a law and order approved by the civil policy." So the doctrine here renounced was communism for the elect.

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[1] See Vol. II. (as above).

[2] The meaning is, as shown later in the recantation, that he had wrongly denounced as a devilish error "our marked men's doctrine to make the people believe that there was no such Spirit given," etc. He now expressly admitted that a man having the Spirit might afterwards fall away.

Champneis was ordered henceforth to forbear preaching or setting forth books of doctrine without special licence, and to call in and destroy, as far as it lay within his power, all books that he had already published; and finally he was bound over to do penance at Paul's Cross on the following Sunday, with a faggot on his shoulder.

John Ashton.

In the same year, on the 28th December, at Lambeth, John Ashton, parson at Shitlington, Lincoln diocese, was convented before Cranmer and abjured the following heresies:—

1. "That the Trinity of Persons was only established by the confession of St. Athanasius by the psalm *Quicumque vult*; and that the Holy Ghost is not God, but only a certain power of the Father": 2. "That Jesus Christ, that was conceived of the Virgin Mary, was a holy prophet and specially beloved of God the Father; but that He was not the true and living God, forasmuch as He was seen, and lived, hungered and thirsted": 3. "That this is only the fruit of Jesus Christ's Passion, that whereas we were strangers from God and had no knowledge of His Testament, it pleased God by Christ to bring us to the knowledging of His holy power by the Testament." Having recanted these heresies, and made full submission, he was dismissed till Monday after Epiphany, the day appointed for his penance.

Michael Thombe.

Next year, 1549, after the sentence passed on Joan Bocher (which was not executed for a twelvemonth), Michael Thombe of London, butcher, abjured at Lambeth. It may have been that he was her husband; for his case, though brought up eleven days later, takes precedence of hers in Cranmer's register; and there are strong reasons for believing that the name, Joan Bocher or Butcher (though she was also named Baron and Knel[1]), indicates a butcher's wife. Further, his heresies were clearly of the same kidney as hers; for he confessed he had affirmed "that rather Christ took no flesh of our Lady"; moreover, he believed that he had said "that the baptism of infants is not profitable, because it goeth without faith." Here we see the root of the Anabaptist heresy, of which there was so much in Westphalia. Infants when baptized are unconscious, and therefore, it is supposed, cannot really become members of Christ. Needless to say, such a plausible view is common enough even in our day.[2]

But where, it may be asked, does the Church of England stand at this time? There are heresies which she deems worthy of the fire, yet she upholds what are thought heresies in other countries, desecrates altars in the most shameful fashion, and forbids even a royal princess to have mass said in her house. It seemed very necessary that a Church which did things like these should define her own principles clearly, and show plainly what from her point of view was or was not legitimate. Warwick himself, doubtless, would have been glad to see the Church of England relieved from the anarchy in which it had been left since 1532, as the boy King could not well act the part of a living head of the insular Church in the way his father had done, discussing questions of theology with Cranmer or determining them in Parliament by the weight of his own authority. Still less was Warwick the man to supply what was wanting by acting like Thomas Cromwell as the King's vicegerent in matters spiritual. Yet the legislation passed in 1549-50 in opposition to bishops, old and new alike, however regardless of long-cherished traditions, was really a set of successive efforts to lay down some principles of order in Church government;

Attempts at order in Church government.

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[1] See *L.P.*, XVIII. ii.; and Strype, *Eccl. Mem.*, II. i. 334.

[2] For the whole of these processes see Wilkins, iv. 39-43.

for if the Church was no longer to be governed by her own canons as of old, it was only reasonable that she should know by what principles she was to be governed at all. Yet, as we have seen, all those successive attempts to deal with Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction only ended in another Act of Parliament to authorise thirty-two commissioners (who were to be appointed afterwards) to revise the canon law, as originally intended by Henry VIII.; and whether this was to lead to anything more than previous Acts remained still to be seen.

Another Act for a Commission of Thirty-two to revise the canon law.

As a matter of fact, it did lead to something more. That is to say, it led to the actual issuing of a Commission this time, though only after the lapse of twenty months. On the 6th October 1551 the Thirty-two were at length nominated, and the Lord Chancellor received orders to make out the requisite letters for their appointment. The Commission then consisted of eight bishops, eight divines, eight civilians, and eight lawyers; and of the whole thirty-two, it was intended that eight members should in the first place "rough hew the canon law, the rest to conclude it afterwards."[1] On the 22nd a separate Commission was issued to the eight chosen for this preliminary work; and they consisted of two of each class. But this was set aside, and a new Commission issued on the 11th November with three names altered; and the list stood ultimately thus: The two bishops were Cranmer and Goodrich of Ely; the two divines, Cox and Peter Martyr; the two civilians (doctors of laws), William May and Rowland Taylor of Hadley; and the two common lawyers, John Lucas and Richard Gooderike.[2] The rough-hewing process

The Commission constituted.

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[1] Dasent, iii. 382.

[2] Cardwell's *Documentary Annals*, i. 106-9. The footnote in Cardwell at p. 107 is inaccurate; and so, unfortunately (in another way), are the statements in my *English Church History* at p. 300. The language of this separate Commission is a little peculiar. The word "vos" in the first line of p. 108 in Cardwell seems undoubtedly to be an error for "nos." But in that case the Thirty-two had not yet received their commission, notwithstanding

seems really to have proceeded some length, as we shall see hereafter. It could not have been an easy task. For one thing, a new body of canon law involved a restatement of the essential doctrines of the Church—a subject on which the Primate himself, at the head of the Commission, had undergone a serious change of opinion. Yet on this point he was not likely to meet with much opposition from those appointed to be his fellows. The real question was how to form a body of canon law that should entirely keep clear of statute law.

Cranmer endeavours to prepare a new theological standard.

With Cranmer, clearly, as Primate of All England, the responsibility for the formation of a new theological standard particularly rested; and, in fact, he had been labouring at the work for years. We find him already engaged upon it at the close of the year 1549, when Hooper, writing to Bullinger, having recovered somewhat from his anxiety lest a change in religion should result from the fall of Somerset, says: "The Archbishop of Canterbury entertains right views as to the nature of Christ's presence in the Supper, and is now very friendly towards myself. He has some articles of religion, to which all preachers and lecturers in divinity are required to subscribe, or else a licence for teaching is not granted them; and in these his sentiments respecting the Eucharist are pure and religious, and similar to yours in Switzerland. We desire nothing more for him than a firm

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the order given to the Chancellor on the 6th October; for the words following declare that it was only proposed to appoint them *shortly*. Perhaps upon further consideration the Chancellor was directed to suspend for a while the issue of the Commission. Canon Dixon (*History of the Church of England*, iii. 352, end of footnote) considers that "the Commission of October 6 was only for the fragment of the three years that was left," and that the language of this separate Commission had reference to the necessity of a new Commission for the Thirty-two being made out when the appointed three years should expire. But they would not have expired till the beginning of 1553, and a new Commission was actually issued in February 1552. So I think the reasonable conclusion is that very shortly after the Council's order to the Chancellor on the 6th October, it was determined at least to suspend the appointment of the Commission, and ultimately to hold it over till February.

and manly spirit. Like all the other bishops in this country, he is too fearful what may happen to him."[1]

And again in February 1550 Hooper writes: "The Archbishop of Canterbury, who is at the head of the King's Council, gives to all lecturers and preachers their licence to read and preach. Every one of them, however, must previously subscribe to certain articles, which, if possible, I will send you; one of which, respecting the Eucharist, is plainly true, and that which you maintain in Switzerland."[2] The Swiss divines had come to accord on this subject the year before in the celebrated *Consensus Tigurinus*;[3] so matters were tending to identity of teaching in England and in Switzerland. And this was really a great step gained in the programme of our early Reformers. The vision which appealed most of all to the heart of Cranmer was that of a true Catholicism throughout all Europe, the different Churches in different countries each confessing the control of that great principle called in England Royal Supremacy, while each of these local Churches, being but a branch of the true Church in every country, agreed in one common faith emancipated from the corruptions of Rome. Such agreement may seem to us a dream, and yet there was much more substance in it than we imagine; and Cranmer's whole life—blemished, as it certainly was, by many a weakness, and by no small amount of tyranny when he was allowed to have the upper hand—was, in truth, a very earnest effort to make it a reality.

He requires the clergy to subscribe articles,

There were only two tendencies of which Cranmer was intolerant—the one was the acknowledgment of Roman authority, and the other the denial of royal supremacy. He had early in his life become convinced of what many others, with far less clearness of vision, were practically convinced as well—that royal supremacy was a power which could no longer be ignored, even in matters of religion; and he admitted that, if the supreme ruler of a country were a pagan—nay, even, the Great Turk—royal supremacy over the Church in his realm was nevertheless a fact. The subject's duty would then be, by suasive influences, to christianise the ruler as much as possible, or to procure from him the utmost possible toleration. And when the ruler was avowedly Christian the same principle, practically, held good. The royal theology was bound to take note of the theology of Christian divines; and Cranmer himself, as one among the number, only submitted his own opinions with all due deference as an aid to general agreement. But when the King was a minor the Archbishop was charged with higher authority, and he felt he was called on to lay down the law for others. Yet even here—despotic as he was towards men whose principles seemed to be built on a merely Roman foundation—he offered hospitality to men of various views from different parts of the Continent, and eagerly sought to harmonise them. In the process he himself shed his Lutheranism, as we have seen already; and even in 1549, just after Somerset's fall, he had begun administering articles for subscription to candidates for Holy Orders.

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[1] *Original Letters*, pp. 71, 72.

[2] *Ib.* p. 76, letter xxxvii.

[3] An account of the origin of this *Consensus* will be found in Niemeyer's Preface to his *Collectio confessionum in ecclesiis reformatis publicatarum*, p. xli, and the text of the agreement, with other documents relating thereto, in the work itself, pp. 191-217.

In fact, even a year before that date, we see clearly his aim in what he wrote both to Melancthon and to John à Lasco when inviting them to England.

and desires to have a Council of divines in England.

"We are desirous," he said to the latter, "of setting forth in our churches the true doctrine of God, and have no wish to adapt it to all tastes, or to deal in ambiguities; but, laying aside all carnal considerations, to transmit to posterity a true and explicit form of doctrine agreeable to the rule of the sacred Writings; so that there may not only be set forth among all nations an illustrious testimony respecting our doctrine, delivered by the grave authority of learned and godly men, but that all posterity may have a pattern to imitate. For the purpose of carrying this important design into execution we have thought it necessary to have the assistance of learned men, who, having compared their opinions together with us, may do away with all doctrinal controversies, and build up an entire system of true doctrine."[1] Posterity, it is to be feared, have not appreciated Cranmer's view much better than Cranmer could have appreciated the "moderation" of the twentieth century. He had no more idea than his Romanist opponents of allowing private judgment to hold the field against the general consent of the learned. It was a true Catholicism which he had in view, to be laid down by thoughtful divines after careful conference among themselves, and he hoped that it would justify itself as Catholic in the end by drawing the consent of all Christian Europe not under papal bondage. Such an idea evidently was in his mind even in the days of Henry VIII., when his royal master, who only played with theology as far as it suited his politics, invited a Lutheran embassy over to England, simply to strengthen himself against Rome by the friendship of German princes. But it really became of much practical importance when in 1550 a new Pope, Julius III., promised to revive the Council of Trent, and actually succeeded next year in getting it to reassemble. The German Protestants, too, in 1551, were partly caught by the appeal to send deputies thither; and it was quite essential for England, holding aloof from the Pope and all his doings, to have some definite theology and Church principles of her own, in sympathy at least with Swiss, and, if possible, with other Reformers.

Cranmer had been in Germany, and had, doubtless, studied the Augsburg Confession carefully years before the Lutheran embassy came to England in 1538. He had also held conferences with their divines in that year, and the Articles which he drew up by royal command in 1551 are shown to have been partly moulded upon a set of thirteen Articles proposed by them when in England, to English theologians. Of these thirteen Articles there is one complete copy[1] in the Public Record Office, and several drafts, either of the entire set or of separate articles. And among these drafts are one or two which contain corrections, some in the handwriting of Cranmer, and some in that of Henry VIII. himself.[2] These Articles, of course, breathe the spirit of the Augsburg Confession, and some of them are identical, or nearly so, in the wording with those of that great Lutheran formula. They were, indeed, much fewer in number; but the discussions previously held with Foxe and Heath in Germany must have suggested to the negotiators the necessity of making their conditions as clear and concise as possible. And though nothing came at that time of these efforts to attain unity in religion, Cranmer assuredly gave them much consideration in the days of Edward VI. when he was drawing up articles for his clergy to sign before they could be licensed to preach. Thus we can very well account for the Lutheran character of some of the Articles of the Church of England at this day.

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[1] *Original Letters*, p. 17, letter ix., dated 4th July 1548.

It is unfortunate that at this critical period we have no exact account of what the Convocations were doing. Their records, indeed, are said to have been exceedingly meagre, and those of the Canterbury Convocation were burnt in the Great Fire of London. But some points have been noted by writers who made use of them before the Fire; and Heylyn, taking note of the efforts of Calvin to control the English Church and Government, tells us something about a Convocation which began in the year 1550. This very likely means 1551 by our mode of computation, which begins the year on the 1st January, but the exact date when the session opened must be uncertain. "The first debate among the prelates," writes Heylyn, "was of such doubts as had arisen about some things contained in the Common Prayer Book; and more particularly, touching such feasts as were retained and such as had been abrogated by the rules thereof, the form of words used at the giving of the bread, and the different manner of administering the Holy Sacrament. Which being signified unto the Prolocutor and the rest of the clergy, who had received somewhat in charge about it the day before,—answer was made, that they had not yet sufficiently considered of the points proposed, but that they would give their lordships some account thereof in the following session. But what account was given appears not in the Acts of that Convocation; of which there is nothing left upon record but this very passage."[1]

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[1] Printed by Jenkyns in the Appendix to Cranmer's *Remains*, vol. iv. pp. 273 *sq.*, with the text of corresponding articles in the Augsburg Confession underneath for comparison.

[2] *L. P.*, XIII. i. 1307 (1-19).

Doubts raised about matters in the Prayer Book.

This is a gleam of light in darkness, and shows what questions were now coming on. Moreover, it shows us that the chief advocates of change were in the Upper House, of course among the new bishops, and that the representatives of the clergy of lower ranks were slow to adopt their proposals, and apparently did not adopt them. But in another great matter Cranmer was able to take action without leave of Convocation; for in 1551 the King and Council ordered him to draw up a book of Articles of Religion, to be set forth afterwards by authority. This, of course, was a thing he had been doing for some time; and he delivered his Articles that year to the Bishops; for we read in a Council minute of the

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[1] *Ecclesia restaurata*, i. 227-8 (Robertson's edition), old paging 107.

2nd May, 1552, that a letter was ordered to be addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury "to send hither the Articles that he delivered last year to the Bishops, and to signify whether the same were set forth by any public authority or no, according to the minute."[1] No doubt he had delivered them to that same Convocation which began in 1550 (old style); but what criticism they received there we cannot tell. After he had handed them, as desired, to the Council, they were returned to him for further consideration. Then four months later, on the 19th September, he notified Cecil that he had sent them to Sir John Cheke, set in a better order, with "the titles upon every matter, adding thereto that which lacked." And thereupon he desired Cecil to take counsel with Cheke about submitting them to the King.[2]

Hooper's Articles of 1551.

Now it will be remembered that Hooper, writing to Cecil from Gloucester when he revisited the diocese in July, 1552, mentions certain articles[3] that the King had spoken of when he took his oath at his consecration as bishop. But the King had not authorised them, and when he first visited Gloucester, in 1551, he wrote to the clergy there merely as their bishop, that with a view to better order in the diocese he had "collected and gathered out of God's holy Word a few articles." These were fifty in number; they have been printed by the Parker Society.[4] So it seems that Hooper began his work as bishop by framing articles of his own to instruct the deans and parsons under his spiritual guidance what kind of doctrine they were to inculcate. Yet we can hardly imagine that in formulating these he struck out a path entirely for himself without reference to what Cranmer had been already doing for some time in formulating articles for the clergy to sign. And as a matter of fact, whatever originality there may have been in Hooper's selection, it is certain that a good number of these articles of his were either adopted by Cranmer in his own scheme or were borrowed by Hooper from it; for no less than twenty of them may be identified with articles in our familiar Thirty-nine, though the wording sometimes varies a little. But when next year Hooper attempted to begin a similar visitation at Worcester, though he contented himself there with a set of nineteen articles merely (and these were much criticised by two of his own canons there), yet sixteen of those nineteen also may be recognised among our Thirty-nine.[1]

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[1] Dasent, iv. 33.

[2] Cranmer's *Letters* (Parker Soc.), p. 439.

[3] See p. 289.

[4] Hooper's *Later Writings*, pp. 120-29.

[1] A comparison of the two sets of Articles with the Thirty-nine may interest the reader. Among the Fifty Articles of Gloucester the 2nd corresponds to Art. I. of the Thirty-nine, the 3rd to Art. VIII., the 4th to Art. XIX. (first par.), the 7th to XI., the 8th to XII., the 9th to XXII., the 10th to XXVIII. (2nd par. Transubstantiation, but more positively denied), the 15th to XXXI., the 16th to XXXIV., the 17th to XXIII., the 18th to XXXIX., the 22nd to XXV. (last par.), the 23rd to XXV. (first par.), the 25th to XXVI. (differently put), the 29th to XXXII., the 34th, 35th, 36th, and 37th to XXXVII., the 39th to XXV. (pars. 2 and 3). In two or three of the above parallelisms the correspondence is not exact.

Among the Nineteen Articles of Worcester (which are quoted and replied to in Joliffe's book (see p. 290 *ante*), the 2nd corresponds to Art. VIII. of the Thirty-nine, the 3rd to Art. XIX. (1st par.), the 4th to XIX. (2nd par.), the 5th to VI. (with a difference), the 6th to XX. (from "It is not lawful for the Church"), the 7th to XI. (a little different), the 8th to XXII., the 9th to XXVIII. (2nd par.), the 11th to XXXI., the 12th to XIII., the 13th to XV., the 14th to XXV. (last par.), the 15th to XXV. (1st par.), the 16th to XIV., the 17th to XXVIII. (last par.), the 19th to XXXII.

As to the other articles in the two visitations they are briefly as follows:—

Gloucester.—1. Nothing to be preached not contained in the Bible. 5. Though the true Church of Christ cannot err, any known Church may. 6. Against Anabaptist doctrines. 11. Those who unworthily come to Baptism or the Lord's Supper do not receive the virtue and effect of the Sacraments, but only the external signs. 12. Sacraments received with faith must lead to salvation; yet God may save children or elder persons otherwise. 13. Sin remains even in the regenerate; but, if admonished by the Spirit of God, a man repents, he obtains remission of his sins. 14. Against preaching in unknown tongues or with indistinct utterance (different from XXIV.). 20. Christ took flesh of the Virgin without the seed of any man. 26. Against Reservation of the Sacrament and non-communicating attendance. 27. None to receive for others. 28. The Popish mass an enemy to God's Word. 30. Celebration to be but once in the day. 31. For teaching the catechism. 32. Consent makes matrimony, but it should not be celebrated without inquiry and banns. 33. Correction, punishment, and excommunication. 38. Collections for the poor. 40. Not to read injunctions extolling the Popish mass, candles, etc. 41. Not to counterfeit the Popish mass. 42. Not to buy and sell receipt of Holy Communion for

Warwick created Duke of Northumberland.

But before proceeding further with the story of the Articles it will be necessary to take note of the great events that were taking place in England all the while, by which the power of the Earl of Warwick reached a climax. He was created Duke of Northumberland on the 11th October 1551, and five days later his old rival Somerset was again arrested and sent to the Tower, just as he had been two years previously, even at the same time of year. With the elevation of Warwick to a dukedom came that of Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, to the same dignity, as Duke of Suffolk; of Sir William Paulet, not long since made Earl of Wiltshire to a marquisate, with the title of Winchester; of Sir William Herbert, married to a sister of the Marquis of Northampton and the late Queen Katharine Parr, as Earl of Pembroke. These promotions in the peerage took place within a day or two of each other; and at the same time Secretary Cecil and John Cheke, one of the King's tutors, were made knights. The bearers of all these new honours knew well to whom they were indebted for them, and they were naturally strong supporters of the new Duke of Northumberland. On the other hand, a number of allies of the fallen Duke of Somerset, Sir Ralph Vane and Sir Thomas Palmer, Sir Miles Partridge, Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir Thomas Arundel and some others were sent to the Tower like the Duke himself, and consigned to separate cells; also the Duchess of Somerset and one Crane and his wife. Nor was it long before Sir William Paget, who had been created a baron at the beginning of the year, and the Earl of Arundel were committed to the Tower also.

money. 43. Altars to be abolished. 44. Homilies to be read. 45-50. Matters of discipline.

Worcester.—1. Same as 20 of the Gloucester visitation. 10. Same as 11 Gloucester. 18. The mass which was used to be said by priests was superstitious, and, except the Epistles and Gospels and Words of the Supper, had very few things instituted by Christ, but was the invention of Roman pontiffs and men of the like sort.

The charges against Somerset were no doubt true in part, though much exaggerated. It was stated that he had been trying to recover the Protectorship by making a party for himself;[1] that he had intended to have Warwick, Northampton, and Sir William Herbert invited to an entertainment at Lord Paget's house in the Strand and attacked by the way or assassinated at dinner; that he had been making plans for raising forces in the North and attacking the *gendarmerie*, a newly established body of mounted soldiers; also that he had entertained a project for raising the city by riding through it and proclaiming liberty. The root of the whole matter was doubtless his popularity in the country, of which Dudley was not unnaturally jealous, and some indiscretions of his own which he actually admitted on his trial. He had only talked, he said, of killing Warwick, but had never seriously resolved on it. To attack the *gendarmerie*, a body of 900 men, with his own little band of 100 would have been a mad project, and useless even if he had prevailed. He had never thought of raising London, and the fact that he kept men in his chamber at Greenwich was no proof of it, as he never used them in that way when he might have done it.

His trial was deferred till the 1st December; and it is not insignificant that in the meantime the meeting of Parliament which had been arranged for the 4th November was postponed. Another thing which tended to make Northumberland almost an absolute ruler was an order taken in Council on the 10th November.[2] It had been the practice during the King's minority that when important documents were drawn up in the King's name for the royal signature, they should be signed in the first place by at least six of the Council; and, in September, Lord Chancellor Riche refused to pass under the Great Seal some documents for which fewer signatures were appended to the warrants. Order was therefore taken that in such cases the King's signature alone should henceforth be sufficient, a docket of the bills submitted to him being prepared beforehand and signed by the responsible Councillors. This doubtless should have been some guarantee against absolutism if the Councillors were not mere tools of the reigning statesman, and a plausible reason was given for the change as avoiding "derogation to his Majesty's honour and royal authority." But Lord Chancellor Riche knew that he had not given satisfaction to Northumberland, and found himself too ill to discharge the duties of Chancellor any longer. Just before Christmas the Great Seal was delivered to Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, as Lord Keeper during his illness; but in January, in view of the meeting of Parliament, Bishop Goodrich was made Lord Chancellor in his place.

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[1] This Warwick had been insinuating almost ever since Somerset's liberation and restoration to the Council in 1550; for it is in that year, not in 1551, that we ought to place Whalley's letter to Cecil in Tytler's *England under Edw. VI. and Mary*, ii. 21-4. The letter, as Mr. Pollard has shown (*England under Somerset*, 282 *note*), "is really dated 26th June 1550, not 1551," and internal evidence shows this clearly, both by what is said about Gardiner, and by the 26th June being a Thursday in the date.

[2] Dasent, iii. 411, 416.

Trial of the Duke of Somerset.

Somerset's trial on the 1st December scarcely seems to have been conducted with fairness;[1] and there is some uncertainty on what precise charges he was condemned. The Middlesex grand jury had found, besides some of the points recorded above, that he had conspired with others at Somerset Place on the 20th April preceding "to deprive the King of his royal dignity, and to seize his person"; and that with a view to this he had planned with Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir Miles Partridge and others to seize and imprison Warwick, and take possession of the Great Seal and the Tower of

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[1] Mr. Pollard may be partial in his *England under the Protector Somerset*, pp. 292 *sq.*; but he seems to have gone more thoroughly into the matter than any one before him.

London. On the other hand, there was nothing said in his indictment about any assassination scheme. Nor was Somerset confronted with the witnesses against him, except one, and that one on a point which was not very material even if true, though Somerset denied it on oath. The examination of his chief accusers, Sir Thomas Palmer and Crane, was read to him in Court, and he seems to have shown, convincingly enough, that they were altogether unworthy characters. At the end of the day the Duke was acquitted of treason but found guilty of felony. He apparently had come under the Act (3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 5), passed in the first session after his fall from the Protectorate, for the special protection of lords of the Council against designs to kill or imprison any one of them; for a man proved guilty of any such design was liable to be adjudged a felon without benefit of clergy.[1]

His execution.

The last act of the tragedy took place on the morning of the 22nd January 1552, when the quondam Protector was beheaded on Tower Hill. Then came, shortly after, the trial and execution of four of his alleged accomplices, Sir Thomas Arundel, Sir Ralph Vane, Sir Michael Stanhope, and Sir Miles Partridge, all of whom denied at their death that they had ever done anything against the King or his Council. Neither Stanhope nor Partridge, indeed, was greatly pitied. The last is notorious in history for having won of Henry VIII., by a throw of the dice, the bells of the Jesus Chapel at St. Paul's.

It was not matters touching religion that brought about, or in any way influenced, the fate of Somerset. It was only a triumph of faction; and the people were well aware that they had now got a King Stork instead of a King Log. The late Protector was generally lamented, and certainly not least by those whose religion was of a Reformed type, as we shall have occasion to see ere long. And yet Northumberland was carrying matters in religion further than Somerset or Cranmer himself would probably ever have been inclined to do. For Parliament met on the 23rd January, the day after Somerset's execution, and at once plunged into Church questions. A bill for compelling people to go to church, which was introduced into the Lords the first day, indicates a new policy in these matters. Till now there had been no compulsion by secular law to attend religious services, and the proposal shows more clearly a fact of which we have had evidence already — that the new ritual was not generally popular, at all events not everywhere. Parliament, however, could not be persuaded to adopt that policy even now. The bill had three readings in the Lords, but only one in the Commons, and was lost as an independent measure. But a new Bill of Uniformity having been introduced in the Lords on the 9th March, on the 30th there was produced another bill "for the due coming to common prayer and other services of God in churches." This was presently combined with the Bill of Uniformity; which passed both Houses in April, though not without serious protests in the Lords from Bishops Thirlby and Aldridge, and from the Earl of Derby and Lords Stourton and Windsor.[1]

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[1] See the account given by Micronius to Bullinger of the case against Somerset, *Orig. Letters*, p. 579. The letter which the King wrote to Barnaby Fitzpatrick (see Fuller's *Church History*, iv. 84) about his uncle's case is, after all, only Northumberland's version of the story. Edward's domestic feeling was not warm towards either of his beheaded uncles; and now he was under the spell of Dudley.

Meeting of Parliament, Jan. 1552.

New Act of Uniformity.

But why was a new Act of Uniformity necessary? The answer is that it was wanted in order to give authority to a new Prayer Book, the first Prayer Book having by this time been subjected to a good deal of criticism and revision. Yet to authorise a new book meant naturally to discredit the book already authorised and give a character of fickleness to the exercise of royal power in Church matters; and this was particularly undesirable at a time when Rome seemed to be putting forth fresh vigour, the Council of Trent having been already resumed in the preceding year, and the eucharistic doctrines and ordinances of the Reformers having been there emphatically condemned. Nay, such was the prestige of the reassembled Council that there were envoys from some of the German Protestants there now, and what was likely to occur might have been a source of anxiety in England. Yet it seemed as if the ruling powers in England sought safety rather in a good understanding with the Swiss Reformers, and Calvinistic theology recommended itself to them more than ever. Still they were most anxious to avoid that imputation of fickleness or inconsistency; and the preamble to the new Act is curiously worded alike to justify the new legislation and to avoid any imputation on the old. The preamble speaks of the first Prayer Book as a "very godly order agreeable to the Word of God and the primitive Church, very comfortable to all good people desiring to live in Christian conversation, and most profitable to the estate of this Realm." Where, then, was the necessity for a new Book? It is true that, notwithstanding this, we are told that "a great number of people in divers parts of the realm do wilfully and damnably refuse to come to their parish churches"—the evil which it had been proposed to remedy by coercion. By this Act the bishops were merely encouraged to deal with defaulters by Church censures. But the reason given for the new book being set forth is that doubts had arisen about the proper use of the old one, "rather by the curiosity of the minister and mistakers than of any other worthy cause."[1]

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[1] *Journals of the Lords*, 6th April.

Reasons for a new Prayer Book,

We cannot commend the honesty of these words;

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[1] Statute 5 and 6 Edw. VI. c. 1.

and when we read further that the object in view was "explaining, perfecting, and making the same prayer and service more earnest and fit to stir Christian people to the honouring of Almighty God," we are led to look into the character of the liturgical changes designed by the statute, and also into some previous correspondence about them—evidences which, taken together, can leave no possible doubt that the persons designated "mistakers" were persons whom the first book was positively designed to conciliate. For in the first place the book, already authorised and in use, had been laid by Cranmer before each of the two foreign divines, Bucer and Peter Martyr, for their criticisms, and this is what Peter Martyr had written to Bucer from Lambeth on the 10th January 1551: "I thank God who has afforded us an opportunity of admonishing the Bishops of these things. It has now been determined in this conference of theirs, as the Most Reverend has reported to me, that many things shall be changed. But what those things are which they have agreed to alter he did not inform me, nor did I dare to inquire of him. But I am not a little comforted by what Master Cheke has intimated to me. 'If the Bishops,' he says, 'will not take care that the things that ought to be changed are changed, the King will do it of himself, and when the matter comes before Parliament he will interpose his own royal authority.'"[1]

This was very much how the matter was managed a year later, in the beginning of 1552. By royal authority through Parliament the authorised book of public devotions was changed in such a way that it should be no longer possible for men like Gardiner to believe that the doctrine of Transubstantiation found any support in it. Gardiner, as we have seen, when he was asked his opinion of the first book, did not think it just such a book as he would have composed himself, but said that he could conscientiously accept it and set it forth. And in his book against Cranmer he had found the old doctrine of the Church expressed in the prayer of consecration, where the words were—"to bless and sanctify these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son, Jesus Christ." But Cranmer put a receptionist interpretation on the words "be unto us" and denied that they indicated any change in the substance of the elements. In short, the whole Church of England must move now with the Primate's change of view, and those who had found the previous liturgy compatible with old-fashioned doctrines must be told that they were "mistakers."

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[1] Strype's *Cranmer*, App. No. 61.

for which Convocation had prepared the way.

It was not difficult, however, to obtain the consent of a renovated Bench of Bishops to the desired changes. Parliament only met in January 1552, but Convocation had assembled again more than a month before it met and paved the way for what was to be done in the secular assembly. So we learn from John ab Ulmis, writing from Oxford on the 10th January:—

> The Convocation began to be held by command of the King's Majesty on the 12th December by most excellent and learned men, who are to deliberate and consult about a proper moral discipline and the purity of doctrine. The Archbishop of Canterbury and Peter Martyr, the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of London, together with the newly appointed Chancellor of England, who was previously Bishop of Ely, and our friend Skinner (who is almost the only acknowledged manager and leader in all controversial matters concerning religion) are to form a Select Committee on these points. The affairs will then be submitted to the approbation of every member of parliament, that is, to the judgment both of high and low. It is uncertain what will be the issue.[1]

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[1] *Original Letters* (Parker Soc.), p. 444. The words translated "to the judgment both of high and low" (in the Latin, "hoc est, summorum et infimorum hominum judicium") mean, no doubt, of both Houses of Parliament. *Epp. Tigurinæ*, p. 293.

"Our friend Skinner," who took such a leading part in this business of a religious settlement, though well known to John ab Ulmis and to Bullinger, is scarcely so well known to fame as one might expect. And it may be enough for the reader to be told about him that early in the reign of Elizabeth he attained the dignity of Dean of Durham and died two years later. But he, too, has something to say about the matter in hand, writing likewise from Oxford to Bullinger five days earlier than John ab Ulmis. "They have lately," he says, "assembled a Convocation, and appointed certain persons to purify our Church from the filth of Antichrist, and to abolish those impious laws of the Roman Pontiffs by which the spouse of Christ has for so long a time been wretchedly and shamefully defiled; and to substitute new ones, better and more holy, in their place."[1] No question of correcting "mistakers" here! Bad laws framed under the influence of Antichrist are to be thoroughly abolished and replaced by new ones. But we do not gather either from the words of Skinner or of the ardent John ab Ulmis how far the reforming party had their way. The latest news from either of them says, "It is uncertain what will be the issue." There is, indeed, one further reference to the subject in a short letter of ab Ulmis to Bullinger on the 1st March following; but it is of a most disappointing character. "Perhaps," he writes, "you may wish to know what has been decreed in Convocation respecting ecclesiastical matters, and in what condition are the affairs of our Duke.[2] But as I am aware that you will learn all these matters both from the letter of [Lady] Jane, the Duke's daughter, and from Traheron, I deem it superfluous to write more concerning them at this present time."[1]

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[1] *Original Letters*, p. 314. This letter is misdated by the editor 1550. It is dated from Oxford on the 5th January, and the correspondence of its contents with those of John ab Ulmis, writing from the same place on the 10th, shows that it was written in 1552.

[2] The Duke of Suffolk, father of Lady Jane Grey

We can tell, however, from other sources the course things took after the month of January. The Commission of Thirty-two for remodelling the canon law may or may not have been issued by this time; but the smaller Commission of Eight was certainly doing the preparatory work expected of it, as Skinner's words in the above extract imply. The three years' term allowed by the Act would not have expired for a twelvemonth yet. But on the 2nd February the Council directed the Lord Chancellor to make out a new Commission of Thirty-two according to the Act,[2] and the King in his Journal notifies the fact on the 10th. The names were nearly the same as those in the previous Commission; but there were some changes. The eight bishops remained as before. In the set of eight divines Latimer was left out and Taylor of Hadley was put in. This made a vacancy among the eight civilians, in which two others also were left out, Sir Thomas Smith and Dr. Lyell; but there were inserted two new names, Mr. Rede and Mr. Coke. Among the lawyers the name of Brock, recorder of London, was replaced by that of Gawdy.[3] These, however, made only thirty-one Commissioners, unless it was by accident that the King omitted one name among the civilians; for after all, we are dependent on a list drawn up by himself. But while this list contains the full number of bishops, it does not include the Archbishop of York (Holgate), whom John ab Ulmis places upon the select committee. Perhaps this Swiss student at Oxford was not very well informed. We may, however, judge that the tendency of things, as shown already by the new Act of Uniformity, was more decidedly anti-Roman than before, and that a body

New Commission of Thirty-two.

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[1] *Original Letters*, p. 450.

[2] Dasent, iii. 471.

[3] See Edward's Journal, under date.

of canon law turned out by the new Commission was not likely to be very conservative. In the course of one year more, it would seem that they had actually agreed on a new scheme of canon law; of which, however, I defer speaking for the present. For some other symptoms of the times deserve attention first.

This second Act of Uniformity was certainly a curious measure, cunningly introduced for politic reasons, because it was clear that the first Act did not satisfy ardent Reformers. Calvin had expressed pretty clearly, in that letter which he wrote to the Protector Somerset in ignorance of his fall, his dislike of various matters in the English ritual.[1] The book, he considered, still countenanced superstition; and Calvin's feeling in this was shared by all the Swiss Reformers and their English allies. But the power which gets Acts passed by Parliament is not that of divines but of statesmen; and matters were guided now by one subtle head which only considered how divines might promote its purposes. Northumberland, by no means fervid himself, had a high appreciation of fervour. It was at least a very unmistakable thing, and showed clearly what currents might be made available.

John Knox at Newcastle.

An admirable example of the value of fervour presented itself at this time in the case of a Scottish preacher who had found a field of usefulness at Newcastle and drawn many of his countrymen thither, creating a little colony of Calvinists in that notable seaport. The name of this preacher was John Knox, and he requires no further introduction to the reader. Countenanced by the authorities, he had been preaching continually in the great church of St. Nicholas (now in these days a cathedral) through the summer of 1551 and the succeeding winter; and when news reached Newcastle of the final ruin and death of the Duke of Somerset, he made the pulpit ring with denunciations of the act in a style which we can easily appreciate from his own words. For it is thus he writes in exile two years later "to the faithful in London, Newcastle, and Berwick":—

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[1] *See* pp. 120-1.

> What the Devil and his members, the pestilent Papists, meant by his away-taking, God compelled my tongue to speak in more places than one; and especially before you, the professors of God's truth, and in the Newcastle, as Sir Robert Brandling did not forget of long time after. God grant that he may understand all other matters spoken before him then, as at other times, as rightly as he did that mine interpretation of the vineyard whose hedges, ditches, towers, and winepress God destroyed because it would bring forth no good fruit; and that he may remember that whatever was spoken by my mouth that day is now complete and come to pass, except that the final destruction and vengeance of God is not yet fallen upon the greatest offenders, as assuredly shortly it shall, unless that he and such other of his sort that then were enemies to God's truth, will speedily repent, and that earnestly, of their stubborn disobedience. God compelled my tongue, I say, openly to declare that the Devil and his ministers intended only the subversion of God's true religion by that mortal hatred amongst those which ought to have been knit together by Christian charity and by benefits received, and especially that the wicked papists, by that ungodly breach of charity, diligently minded the overthrow of him that, to his own destruction, procured the death of his innocent friend.[1]

This was written from Dieppe after a great change of times. Edward VI. was dead and Mary was Queen. Northumberland had met with his deserts on Tower Hill. Burning of heretics had not begun again, but the "godly" were sore discouraged. Sir Robert Brandling, who had been three times Mayor of Newcastle,[2] though an "enemy to God's truth," had once been impressed with Knox's words, but was not likely to repent in these days. But the point to be noted is how John Knox speaks of the fate of Somerset, and how he spoke about it at the time. We cannot doubt that he spoke about it in the way his very earnest words in the above extract imply. But who would imagine that he became soon after chaplain to Somerset's rival and supplanter, whom it is scarcely uncharitable to call the real author of his death? His language, indeed, is curiously discreet. While lamenting "that mortal hatred amongst those which ought to have been knit together by Christian charity, and by benefits received," he had suggested that the only gainers by it would be those wicked papists who were now indeed supreme. But he has not a word to say about the "vaulting ambition" of Dudley, which was the real cause of the whole catastrophe.

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[1] Quoted in Lorimer's *John Knox and the Church of England*, p. 83.

[2] Brand's *Hist. of Newcastle*, ii. 436, 438, 439.

Knox in the King's service.

John Knox, however, demands special attention from us at this time in connection with the rule of Northumberland, the second Prayer Book, and the Act of Uniformity. It has been surmised that even in 1551 he was in the King's service as a preacher with the not inconsiderable stipend of £40 a year. He was not, however, at first one of the six royal chaplains appointed on the 18th December[1] of that year, of whom two were to be always at Court, and four away preaching in different parts of the kingdom. Nor is it so clear as has been supposed, on evidence which, no doubt, suggests such an inference, that he ever held one of those appointments. He was indeed next year recognised as "preacher in the North," and as such had what was technically called a "reward" of £40 given him from the King by warrant of the 27th October 1552. It is, moreover, quite true that £40 was the stipend given to each of the royal chaplains above mentioned,[2] and also that a stipend of the same amount was given to Knox himself, which he lost on Mary's accession.[1] But it appears from Strype[2] that Knox's annuity of £40 was given him "for his good service in preaching in the North, till he should have some place in the Church conferred on him." It was merely a temporary grant to be paid quarterly, it appears, till some promotion were obtained for him. But a powerful patron was thinking of promotion for him even then. He was still at Newcastle during the greater part of the year 1552. During the summer of that year, the Duke of Northumberland went to the north as Warden General of the Marches.[3] He was at Newcastle on the 12th August,[4] and may even have heard Knox preach there. At all events the Duke was one who could form an excellent judgment of the political value of such a man; and after his return south he wrote to Cecil from Chelsea, on the 28th October (the day after the date of Knox's "reward"), wishing that the King would make that preacher Bishop of Rochester. This, in his opinion, would serve three good purposes: First, "he would not only be a whetstone to quicken and sharpen the Bishop of Canterbury, whereof he hath need, but also he would be a great confounder of the Anabaptists lately sprung up in Kent. Secondly, he should not continue the ministration in the North contrary to this set forth here. Thirdly, the family of the Scots now inhabiting in Newcastle chiefly for his fellowship would not continue there, wherein many resorts unto them out of Scotland; which is not requisite."[5]

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[1] See Edward's Journal under date.

[2] Annuities of this amount were given to Harley, Bill, Grindall, and Perne, by patent 6th March, 6 Edw. VI. part 7. Strype (*Eccl. Mem.*, II. i. 524) gives the date as March 13. The warrant for them was issued on the 2nd. MS. Reg. 18 C 24, f. 186 b.

These reasons, which were those of an acute politician, deserve some consideration. Northumberland, it is clear, was hastening on the religious revolution which Cranmer would rather have kept within bounds. Knox would help in this, while at the same time he would confound the troublesome Anabaptists of Kent. Then his withdrawal from the north would relieve the situation there; for his extreme nonconformity, I fancy, was not popular in Newcastle, and was not made more palatable by the fact that a number of his countrymen had come to him there, "chiefly for his fellowship," especially as the number was continually increasing. It would be just as well that those Scots went back to their own country. This, indeed, the Duke insists upon again in a letter of the 23rd November, in which he writes: "And further I have thought good to put you, and so my lords, in memory that some order be taken for Knokks, otherwise you shall not avoid the Scots from out of Newcastle, which, all things considered, methink should not be forgotten."[1] Dr. Lorimer wonders what harm the Duke feared from allowing "the family of Scots" to continue and increase in Newcastle in a time of peace between the two kingdoms; but it evidently has not struck him that Knox's Calvinism might not have been generally relished south of Tweed, and that perhaps he and his countrymen were just barely tolerated because they were known to have influential support.

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[1] See Lorimer, pp. 79, 80. Knox's patent does not seem to be enrolled. The "reward" was simply a gratuity, but was probably intended to serve as a first payment.

[2] *Eccl. Mem.*, II. i. 525.

[3] He took horse for the north early on the 16th June. Machyn's *Diary*, p. 21.

[4] Brand's *Hist. of Newcastle*, ii. 441.

[5] Tytler's *Edw. VI. and Mary*, ii. 142.

His sermon against kneeling at Communion.

Knox was not made a bishop, but he was by this time making a stir much farther south, and if there be anything in the above conjecture, what he was doing at Court would have made his return northward all the more undesirable. For there can be no doubt of the identity of the person referred to by Utenhovius in the following passage of a letter to Bullinger written from London on the 12th October 1552:—

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[1] Lorimer, p. 78.

> Some disputes have arisen within these few days among the bishops in consequence of a sermon of a pious preacher, chaplain to the Duke of Northumberland, preached by him before the King and Council, in which he inveighed with great freedom against kneeling at the Lord's Supper, which is still retained here by the English. This good man, however, a Scotsman by nation, has so wrought upon the minds of many persons that we may hope some good to the Church will at length arise from it; which I earnestly implore the Lord to grant.[1]

"Some disputes," indeed! They were very serious disputes, and never had contention been stirred up at a more inconvenient period. Calvinistic principles had been growing more and more powerful, and Cranmer's moderating influence was put to a severe trial. Cranmer's own policy had drawn the Council towards Geneva as a centre of spiritual power in opposition to Trent. Hooper's crotchets were forgotten. His influence in the Council is noted as daily increasing even in March 1552.[2] He was Bishop of Worcester as well as of Gloucester. And now there was not only John à Lasco to back him up in things opposed to ancient order, but this Scotsman, Knox, as well, powerful in his preaching and favoured at Court. Note also that both Hooper and À Lasco were on the Commission of Thirty-two, together with "our friend Skinner" and some more lawyers besides, and perhaps the fact may assist us to conjecture why Cranmer and other bishops, even of the new school, did not like the passing of the Act for setting up that commission.[3] For Hooper was just as strong against kneeling at the Supper as Knox, and in his Lent Sermons, preached before the King and Council in 1550, he had said: "Seeing kneeling is a show and external sign of honouring and worshipping, and heretofore hath grievous and damnable idolatry been committed by the honouring of the Sacrament, I would wish it were commanded by the magistrates that the communicators and receivers should do it standing or sitting. But sitting, in mine opinion, were best, for many considerations."[1] À Lasco, also, was in favour of sitting, and his opinion to that effect was cited by Cartwright in his controversy with Whitgift in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.[2]

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[1] *Original Letters*, pp. 581-2.

[2] *Ib.* p. 580.

[3] See p. 177.

Such a sermon as that of Knox, actually preached before the King and his Council, was certainly calculated to justify the expectation of Northumberland that the preacher would be a whetstone to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The new Book of Common Prayer was then on the eve of publication, and by the statute it was to come into use on All Saints' Day, the 1st November, only a few weeks later. And this sermon was actually levelled at a practice of old standing which was distinctly enjoined by the book! Nay, it was enjoined by this book for the first time; for hitherto the kneeling posture had been simply taken for granted, but now there was a rubric requiring the bread and wine to be delivered "to the people in their hands, kneeling." If the preacher was not rebuked for his boldness, it seemed necessary to correct the book somehow, even at the last moment; and how was it to be done?

In the minutes of the Council for the 27th September we read as follows:—

> A letter to Grafton, the printer, to stay in anywise from the uttering of the books of the new Service, and if he have distributed any of them amongst his company, that then he give strait commandment to every of them not to put any of them abroad until certain faults therein be corrected.

The 27th September was a Tuesday. Was Knox's sermon delivered on Sunday the 25th? One would almost think that was the date. So great was the importance attached to the preacher's sermon that the Council had determined, even at the eleventh hour, to delay publication of the book till the objection to kneeling at reception had been considered. Early in October they wrote to Cranmer that the King desired him carefully to examine the book and correct printer's errors. They also intimated to him the objection that had been taken on this special point, and desired him to consult with Bishop Ridley and some other learned man like Peter Martyr, to see whether the direction to kneel ought to be allowed to remain. The Archbishop replied on the 7th, promising to do his utmost in both matters, albeit as to the latter he said, "I trust that we with just balance weighed this at the making of the Book; and not only we but a great many bishops and others of the best learned within this realm, and appointed for that purpose. And now, the Book, being read and approved by the whole state of the Realm in the High Court of Parliament, with the King's Majesty his royal assent, that this should be now altered again without Parliament, of what importance this matter is I refer to your Lordships' wisdom to consider." He went on to suggest the inconvenience of deferring to "glorious" (*i.e.* self-important) "and unquiet spirits which can like nothing but that is after their own fancy," adding that if the book were made anew every year they would still find faults in it. Kneeling, they said, was not commanded in Scripture, and was therefore unlawful. That was the argument of the Anabaptists and other sects (it was certainly the old Lollard argument, but Cranmer refrained from speaking of Lollardy), and he was ready to confute it. Then he winds up his discourse with these weighty observations:—

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[1] "Sixth Sermon on Jonas," Hooper's *Early Writings*, p. 536.

[2] Whitgift's *Works*, iii. 94 (Parker Soc.).

Issue of the new Prayer Book delayed.

Cranmer answers the objection to kneeling.

"My good Lords, I pray you to consider that there be two prayers which go before the receiving of the Sacrament, and two immediately follow, all which time the people, praying and giving thanks, do kneel; and what inconvenience there is that it may not be thus ordered, I know not. If the kneeling of the people should be discontinued for the time of the receiving of the Sacrament, so that at the receipt thereof they should rise up and stand or sit, and then immediately kneel down again, it should rather import a contemptuous than a reverent receiving of the Sacrament. But it is not expressly contained in the Scripture, say they, that Christ ministered the Sacrament to his Apostles kneeling. Nor they find it not expressly in Scripture that he ministered it standing or sitting; but if we will follow the plain words of Scripture, we shall rather receive it lying down on the ground, as the custom of the world at that time [was] almost everywhere, and as the Tartars and Turks use yet at this day to eat their meat lying upon the ground. And the words of the Evangelist import the same, which be *ἀνάκειμαι* and *ἀναπίπτω*, which signify properly to lie down upon the floor or ground, and not to sit upon a form or stool. And the same speech use the Evangelists where they show that Christ fed five thousand with five loaves, where it is plainly expressed that they sat down upon the ground, and not upon stools."[1]

This should have been a pretty convincing answer to any argument that the practice objected to was not warranted by Scripture. But the Lollard spirit saw danger in the act of kneeling as naturally implying adoration; and Cranmer, who was about to repair to his diocese, was requested to remain in town till Tuesday following, the 11th, that the Lords might confer with him. On that day, accordingly, he attended a meeting of the Council at Westminster; but the record of that meeting contains nothing that bears on this particular subject. Probably something was said about it at a later meeting of the Council which took place in the Archbishop's absence on the 20th; for though there is no mention of it in the record of this meeting either, we have a minute of the agenda for this meeting in Cecil's hand, containing the brief entry :—

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[1] Lorimer's *John Knox and the Church of England*, pp. 103-5. The letter is not included either in the Parker Society's edition of Cranmer's *Letters* or in that of Jenkyns, but is in the Record Office. It was first printed by Perry in *Some Historical Considerations relating to the Declaration on Kneeling*, p. 77.

"Mr. Knokes—B. of Cāt$^{rb.}$: y^{e} booke in y^{e} B. of Durh$^{m.}$ (?)."[1]

The second part of this memorandum is open to different interpretations, which need not detain us here; but the first is not a little significant. Notwithstanding the Archbishop's answer to Knox on the subject of kneeling, his sermon before the King was evidently still much esteemed, and he and five others were selected at this time to criticise the most effective part of the Primate's Church policy. For Cecil's brief minute of agenda for the 20th has surely some bearing on a determination of the Council on the 21st, which is recorded in these words :—

Knox and five others to examine Cranmer's Articles.

> A letter to Mr. Harley, Mr. Bill, Mr. Horne, Mr. Grindall, Mr. Perne,[2] and Mr. Knox, to consider certain articles exhibited to the King's Majesty to be subscribed by all such as shall be admitted to be preachers or ministers in any part of the realm, and to make report of their opinions touching the same.

Cranmer's Articles had already been submitted to the bishops; but now they were to be submitted to the six preachers, four of whom at least were royal chaplains. This is not surprising, because, as we have seen, after having been handed about a good deal already between Convocation and the Council, they had been finally presented to the King, and it lay with the King and the divines whom he and Northumberland favoured most, to say the last word, whether they should be authorised or not.

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[1] *State Papers, Domestic, Edward VI.*, vol. xv. Printed by Perry, p. 96. I have referred to the original MS. to give the words, as nearly as possible, *verbatim et literatim.*

[2] Misread "Percie" in Dasent. All others who have referred to the MS. have made the name Perne, and there is no doubt it was Andrew Perne, afterwards Dean of Ely.

The Articles were at this time forty-five in number, and the 38th (which was afterwards made, with a little modification, the 35th) declared that the Prayer Book and Ordinal lately issued by authority of the King and Parliament were "holy, godly, and not only by God's Scriptures probable in every rite and ceremony, but also in no point repugnant thereto." This was a statement that such men as Knox, and even Hooper, could not be expected readily to endorse. Probably not one of the six chaplains or preachers would have willingly let it pass. As a matter of fact they made a report to the Council, which to all appearance was unanimous, in response to the letter directed to them. This report was in Latin and does not appear to be extant; but its general drift is placed beyond a doubt by another paper in English,[1] which they thought right to submit to the Council at the same time. Disclaiming any sentiment of arrogance or vain curiosity which they felt that "some" might suspect (whether or not they had seen Cranmer's letter, they had certainly been informed of its contents), or any desire to have "innovation" in things already "well ordered," they felt constrained to remonstrate about this 38th Article. No one could doubt that the kneeling posture at the Lord's table proceeded from the erroneous opinion that Christ's natural body was there, either by transubstantiation "or by conjunction, real or corporal, of his body and blood with the visible elements." And this simply encouraged idolatry and gave idolaters occasion to triumph over the Church. Christ Himself was not

Their report.

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[1] Printed by Lorimer, pp. 267-74.

conscious that His institution might be brought into contempt by sitting, for no such suggestion occurred in Scripture. It was to be feared we were building strongholds for our enemies, who might hereafter repair the walls of Jericho to our displeasure. Kneeling was not a right posture at table; it was the attitude of suppliants, and we ought to partake of the Lord's Supper joyfully, without any sign of the fear of servitude and thraldom, though we ought previously to bewail our sins and miseries. Such was in brief the substance of a rather lengthy document which the writers called their "Confession." There can be very little doubt that it was mainly, if not entirely, the composition of John Knox.

"The Black Rubric."

Such counsel, when the publication of the new Prayer Book was due immediately, was extremely perplexing. Cranmer evidently could not yield to it; yet the objection taken by the chaplains was vital and could not be passed by. A compromise was determined on. The text of the new rubric was left untouched; but an explanation must go out along with it. The celebrated "Declaration on Kneeling" was drawn up (otherwise known as "the Black Rubric"), which, printed on a separate slip of paper, was ordered by the Council to be inserted in the copies of the book already printed. This order was given on the 27th October[1]—late enough, seeing that the book was to be in use five days after. It was a hurried business, and some copies apparently had got abroad even before the order came; nor was the slip always inserted in the same position in the different copies. Yet after all, the book in which it was inserted had only been in use a few months when King Edward died, and in the Prayer Book of Queen Elizabeth the Declaration was altogether omitted. It was restored, however, in the Prayer Book of Charles II., with the omission of a rather wordy preamble and an important variation by which only "a corporal presence" was repudiated, not a "real and essential presence" as in the first issued "Declaration." And in this form "the Black Rubric" still stands in the Book of Common Prayer.

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[1] Dasent, iv. 154.

The Articles still criticised.

The printers were now free to issue the book. But the Articles still remained under consideration of the royal chaplains, who made a few alterations, and on the 20th November they were again sent to Cranmer by the Council for his further comments.[1] Cranmer received them at Ford on the 23rd, and returned them next day with a paper declaring his opinions, and urging that the bishops should at once be authorised to require their clergy to subscribe them.[2] In this hope he was disappointed. We know nothing indeed of the further discussions that went on, but it seems as if Cranmer and John Knox at least had still many differences of opinion. The Articles certainly underwent some slight changes, and before the end of the reign they were cut down from forty-five to forty-two. At last they were signed by the King on the 12th June 1553, within four weeks of his death.[3]

Northumberland's opinion of Knox.

By this time, at least, Northumberland as a politician had found out what it was to take counsel with a perfervid Lollard, who could not be tempted by a bishopric or any other means to be a little tractable. On the 7th December he wrote again to Cecil from Chelsea: "Master Knox being here to speak with me, saying that he was so willed by you, I do return him again, because I love not to have to do with men which be neither grateful nor pleasable. I assure you I mind to have no more to do with him but to wish him well; neither also with the Dean of Durham,[4] because under the colour of a false conscience he can prettily malign and judge of others against good charity upon a froward judgment. And this man, you might see in his letter cannot tell whether I be a dissembler in religion or not. But I have for twenty years stand [stood] to one kind of religion, in the same which I do now profess; and have, I thank the Lord, passed no small dangers for it."[1]

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[1] Dasent, iv. 173.

[2] Cranmer's *Letters*, pp. 140-41 (Parker Soc.).

[3] Strype, *Eccl. Mem.*, II. ii. 24. The date of the King's signature appears in MS. Reg. 18 C. 24, f. 357.

[4] Robert Horne, who became an Elizabethan Bishop of Winchester.

It is pleasant to find such a very consistent statesman finding fault with theologians for lack of charity. He had been constant to one religion for twenty years! Alas! two years more, or somewhat less than two years, made a vast difference, and he died a traitor's death, lamenting his sins, and reconciled to the Church of Rome. But the tale of his gigantic treason belongs to our next chapter.

Before closing the present one, however, we must take note of one happy result arising out of all this controversy. Even John Knox became reasonable. He returned to the north, and preached at Newcastle on Christmas Day. But before he left London, at least then most probably, he wrote a very long pastoral letter, worded like an apostolic epistle, to his old congregation at Berwick, beginning, "John Knox to the Congregation of Berwick. Grace be multiplied and peace from God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with all that unfeignedly thirsts the glory of his name. Amen." This is followed by a lengthy prelude, showing why he felt it his duty to write, not only to signify his "present estate," but to urge them "in the bowels of Jesus Christ" to continue in the truth they had professed. They must remember how the best beloved of God are sometimes for a time left comfortless. Who would not have thought Esau Jacob's lord, when, after having fled for fear of him, he returned with great substance, seven times to bow and make "homages before the face of his brother and his company"? If troublous days were in store they must remain steadfast, and so forth. As to his own present estate, he was no hypocrite, but in heart just what he had been when with them, one of the common sort of "God's elect children," continually lamenting his frailty and sin, but bound to preach God's truth. But to come to doctrine, he would not move contention about ceremonies if he could avoid it. And he further explains himself thus:—

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[1] Tytler's *England under Edward VI. and Mary*, ii. 148. I have corrected one word by the MS.

Knox advises compliance with orders.

> To touch the point. Kneeling at the Lord's Supper I have proved by doctrine to be no convenient gesture for a table, which hath been given in that action to such a presence of Christ as no place of God's Scriptures doth teach unto us. And therefore, kneeling in that action appearing to be joined with certain dangers, no less in maintaining superstition than in using Christ's holy institution with other gestures than either he used or commanded to be used, I thought good amongst you to avoid, and to use sitting at the Lord's table; which ye did not refuse, but with all reverence and thanksgiving unto God for His truth, knowing, as I suppose, ye confirmed the doctrine with your gestures and confession. And this day yet, with a testimony of good conscience, I signify unto you that, as I nother repent nor recant that my former doctrine, so do I (for divers causes long to rehearse) much prefer sitting at the Lord's table either to kneeling, standing, or going at the action of that mythical Supper.
>
> But because I am but one, having in my contrair magistrates, common order, and judgments of many learned, I am not minded for maintenance of that one thing to gainstand the magistrates, in all other and chief points agreeing with Christ and with his true doctrine, nor yet to break nor trouble common order, thought meet to be kept for unity and peace in the congregations for a time. And least of all intend I to damn or lightly regard the grave judgments of such men as unfeignedly I fear, love, and will obey in all things by them judged expedient to promote God's glory—these subsequents granted unto me—
>
> First, that the magistrates make known (as that they have done if ministers were willing to do their duties), that kneeling is not retained in the Lord's Supper for maintenance

of any superstition, much less that any adoration appertaineth to any real presence of Christ's body natural there contained or joined with those elements of bread and wine, but only for uniform order to be kept, and that for a time, in this Church of England.

Secondly, that common order claim not kneeling in the Lord's Supper as either necessary or decent to Christ's action, but only as a ceremony thought goodly by man and not by Christ himself; for otherwise shall common order accuse Christ and his action of indecency, or lacking some gesture necessary.

And last, that my fathers whom I fear and honor, and my brethren in labors and profession whom I unfeignedly love, do not trouble my conscience, imputing upon me any foolish enterprise for that I have, in ministration of Christ's Sacraments, more regarded attempting to follow what Christ himself did in his own perfect action than what any man after hath commanded to be done.

These things granted unto me, I neither will gainstand godly magistrates, neither break common order, nor yet contend with my superiors or fellow-preachers, but with patience will I bear that one thing; daily thirsting and calling unto God for the reformation of that and others.[1]

So Knox conformed and desired others to conform, in the hope that the objectionable practice of kneeling would be upheld only for a time in the Church of England. He would not "for so small a matter," as he calls it in one place, obstinately resist authority, and yet he occupies whole pages in showing his correspondents that though he counsels acquiescence it should be acquiescence under protest. It is no wonder that he foresaw trouble in store for himself and those faithful to his teaching. He returned to the north, where the people were not in sympathy with his advanced ideas. The Council wrote in his favour to Lord Wharton, the Warden of the Marches.[2] But he had not been long back again at Newcastle (where he preached on Christmas Day) when he was informed against by the mayor,[1] and found himself called upon to answer written articles as if he had been indicted of treason; and he must have spent an anxious New Year's tide when Wharton reported his examinations to Northumberland. "Poor Knox," the Duke actually called him in a letter to Cecil of the 9th January, adding: "You may perceive what perplexity the poor soul remaineth in at this present"; and he wishes Cecil to urge the rest of the lords to do something for his relief. Disappointed as he had been before at finding he could not mould Knox to his will by hope of a reward, he wished Wharton and those of Newcastle to be assured that the preacher was still in favour. "Otherwise," he said, "some hindrance in the matter of religion may rise and grow among the people, being inclined of nature to great constancy and mutations." In other words, there was likely to be serious difficulty about the new Prayer Book in the north; and if Knox were not respected it might have a very disturbing effect. "And the rather do I think this meet to be done," the Duke adds, "for that it seemeth to me that the Lord Wharton himself is not altogether without suspicion how the said Knox's doings hath been here taken. Wherefore I pray you that something may be done whereby the King's Majesty's pleasure to my Lords may be indelayedly certified to the said Lord Wharton, of the King's Majesty's good contentation towards the poor man and his proceedings, with commandment that no man shall be so hardy to vex him or trouble him for setting forth the King's Majesty's most godly proceedings, or [what he] hereafter by His Majesty's commandment shall do; for that His Majesty mindeth to employ the man and his talent from time to time in those

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[1] Lorimer's *John Knox and the Church of England*, pp. 251-65.

[2] Dasent, iv. 190.

Northumberland still protects Knox.

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[1] Not Brandling. In 1552 Robert Lewin was mayor. He was at that time governor of the Merchant Company of Newcastle, as Brandling had also been, and had served like him before both as sheriff and mayor. See Brand's *Hist. of Newcastle*, ii. 240, 437-8, 441.

parts and elsewhere as shall seem good to His Highness for the edifying of his people in the fear of God. And that something might be written to the Mayor for his greedy accusation of the poor man, wherein he hath, in my poor opinion, uttered his malicious stomach towards the King's proceedings if he might see a time to serve his purpose."[1]

It is quite clear that Northumberland's pity for Knox was a very politic kind of compassion. With the new Prayer Book just launched and the temper of the north uncertain, Knox was indeed far more necessary to the Government than the Government was to him. Yet it might be a question whether he would not be more useful now in the south of England than in the north. A London living—that of All Hallows in Bread Street—was offered to him on the 2nd February 1553, but he declined it. He was summoned up to London to say why—at least that was one of the reasons why his presence was desired by the Privy Council, before whom he appeared on the 14th April;[2] and being driven to confess that he did not love the ritual, after some lively disputes with the Council about kneeling, he was dismissed with gentle words.[3] On the 2nd June he was sent to preach in Buckinghamshire without a benefice, the Council writing to Lord Russell, Lord Windsor, and the Justices of Peace within the county in his favour.[4] Buckinghamshire had always been a hotbed of old Lollardy, and as Northumberland was now fully intent on his audacious project of diverting the succession from the dying King's sister Mary, we can understand pretty well what kind of service Knox's preaching was likely to do in that quarter.

On the whole the Reformation was at this time in a highly precarious state; and when, in spite of all attempts to conceal the gravity of the young King's illness, the fact that his days were numbered was more and more suspected, the anxiety that prevailed everywhere must have been intense.

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[1] Lorimer, ii. 162-3; Tytler, ii. 158-60.

[2] Dasent, iv. 212.

[3] Calderwood's *Hist. of the Kirk of Scotland*, i. 280-81 (Wodrow Soc.).

[4] Dasent, iv. 283.

The new service comes into use.

But meanwhile one point at least had been gained for a while. On All-Hallows' Day, 1st November 1552, the new service came into use, according to the statute. Bishop Ridley himself introduced it at St. Paul's, and in the afternoon preached a sermon at Paul's Cross, which was attended by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. The same day "all copes and vestments were put down through all England; and the prebendaries of Paul's left off their hoods, and the bishops their crosses, so that all priests and clerks should use none other vestments, at service nor communion, but surplices only," as the Act required.[1] But whether obedience to the Act throughout the country was so general as our London chronicler's words would seem to imply, may perhaps admit of a doubt.

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[1] Wriothesley's *Chronicle*, ii. 78.

CHAPTER IV

THE GREAT CONSPIRACY

SOMETHING more requires to be said about the Articles, originally forty-five in number, but afterwards reduced to forty-two and signed by the King, as already mentioned, within four weeks of his death. The reduced number was due only to four Articles being made into one; and the other changes, when not merely verbal, are but of the slightest importance, except in that particular Article—the thirty-eighth of the original forty-five, and thirty-fifth of the later forty-two—to which Knox took such strong exception. Here the Scottish Reformer had his way, for a time, to some extent. But the effect of his remonstrances on this point seems to me to have been curiously misapprehended by Dr. Lorimer, whose discovery of the Knox papers in Dr. Williams's library has thrown such an important light on the history of "the Black Rubric." We have the text of Article 38 as it stood among the original forty-five, and we have also the altered text of the same Article when it was made thirty-fifth out of forty-two; and Dr. Lorimer infers that the alterations in the wording were due to the protest made by Knox and his friends against the earlier form. But he has overlooked the remarkable fact that the Forty-five Articles, in the only form in which we know them, were signed by the six preachers commissioned to report on them, of whom Knox was one, while the Forty-two Articles, so far as we know, were not signed by Knox or any one of them. So that it would really be more plausible to suppose that Knox approved of the earlier form, to which he attached his signature, than of the later one which he did not sign.

The Forty-five Articles

But assuredly Knox did object strongly to Article 38 of the Forty-five; and how he and his five colleagues could have signed the whole set of Articles when they took such strong exception to one of them, is a matter that requires explanation. Surely the six preachers had already corrected the Articles laid before them when they signed a fair copy of the set. There are no drafts or earlier copies extant; but I think we may fairly presume that the text which they so severely criticised was not the text to which they appended their signatures. Indeed, this is not merely a very natural presumption; it looks something more than a presumption if we consider carefully the language of the remonstrance. "In the 38th Article," the preachers report, "the Book of Common Prayer now last published by the King's Majesty, and confirmed by common assent and Act of Parliament, is confirmed to be holy, godly, and not only by God's Scriptures probable in every rite and ceremony, but also in no point repugnant thereto, as well concerning common prayers and ministration of the Sacraments as the ordering and admission of priests, deacons, bishops, and archbishops."

had been amended before the preachers signed them.

This statement the preachers felt themselves unable to endorse; but the Article, as they set their hands to it, when translated from the Latin, reads as follows:—

> The Book which quite lately was delivered to the Church of England by authority of the King and Parliament, containing the manner and form of praying and administering the Sacraments in the Church of England, and likewise that little book, published by the same authority, of the ordination of Ministers of the Church, as to truth of doctrine are

pious, and as to the character of the ceremonies are in nothing repugnant to the wholesome liberty of the Gospel, if those ceremonies be esteemed by their own nature, but very well agree with it, and in many things highly advance the same; and, therefore, they are to be received and approved by all faithful members of the Church of England, and especially by all Ministers of the Word, with all readiness of mind and giving of thanks, and to be commended to the people of God.[1]

Nature of the amendment in one Article,

The language here has, no doubt, a good deal in common with that which the preachers cite as objectionable; but there are qualifying expressions which look as if they had been absent from the original document. For, according to the preachers, the Article declared the two books to be holy and godly, and their contents "probable" by Scripture (that is to say, such as could be proved by Scripture) in every rite and ceremony, and nowise repugnant thereto. But here it is only asserted that the books are pious and true in doctrine, and there is a little special pleading for the ceremonies. They are not repugnant to Gospel freedom, if judged simply as ceremonies, and in many things they highly advance it. This is a very different thing from saying that the whole contents of the books, and even every ceremony, could be justified out of Scripture. In short, the text of this Article as one of the Forty-five signed by Knox and his companions has a look of being toned down somewhat, just as it might have been after the Declaration on Kneeling was adopted, which repudiated any superstitious interpretation of the Act. And we have seen already that with this understanding Knox himself accepted the Prayer Book, including the instruction to kneel, with which he urged others to comply until a more enlightened view was taken by the authorities.

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[1] The original Latin is as follows: "Liber qui nuperrime authoritate Regis et Parliamenti Ecclesiae Anglicanae traditus est, continens modum et formam orandi et Sacramenta administrandi in Ecclesia Anglicana: Similiter et libellus ille, eadem authoritate editus, de Ordinatione Ministrorum Ecclesiae, quoad doctrinae veritatem pii sunt, et quoad ceremoniarum rationem salutari Evangelii libertati, si ex sua natura ceremoniae illae estimentur, in nullo repugnant, sed probe congruunt, et eandem in complurimis promovent; atque ideo ab omnibus Ecclesiae Anglicanae fidelibus membris, et maxime a Ministris Verbi, cum omni promptitudine animorum et gratiarum actione recipiendi, approbandi, et populo Dei sunt commendandi."

But the authorities, it is to be feared, never took what Knox considered the more enlightened view, and instead of Knox and his friends putting up for a while with a little too much ceremonial, the authorities only put up for a while with the ambiguous language which he and his friends had introduced into the Article. For in June 1553, when the Forty-two were printed off in Latin and in English, that particular Article, now become the 35th, appeared in a form which fully justified the description given of it in the Remonstrance, and even went a degree further in unqualified commendation of the books than anything which Article 38 of the older set was reported to have said of them. For the text (in English) was now as follows:—

which is altered again in the Forty-two.

> The Book which of very late time was given to the Church of England by the King's authority and the Parliament, containing the manner and form of praying and ministering the Sacraments in the Church of England, likewise also the book of Ordering Ministers of the Church set forth by the foresaid authority, are godly and in no point repugnant to the wholesome doctrine of the Gospel, but agreeable thereunto, furthering and beautifying the same not a little, and therefore of all faithful members of the Church of England, and chiefly of the Ministers of the Word, they ought to be received and allowed with all readiness of mind, and thanksgiving, and to be commended to the people of God.

"Furthering and beautifying the same" (the doctrine of the Gospel) "not a little"! How could Dr. Lorimer have imagined that the introduction of language like this was the result of Knox's remonstrances? It is rather an evidence that the impression made by those remonstrances at the time had gone off or given place to other considerations.[1] If the text of the Article generally was not now restored to the very state in which John Knox and his friends complained of it, I should be much inclined to think that the "furthering and beautifying" clause was inserted in it now for the express purpose of warding off henceforth any attack upon the ritual in deference to Knoxian criticisms. It might be all very well to send John Knox to preach in Buckinghamshire without any parochial charge, with a view to warn the local Lollards of the danger they might incur if Mary came to the throne. That was a matter in which Knox could be very serviceable still; but to tell the world everywhere that he had persuaded the Church of England to give up "adoration" at the Lord's Supper was a very different thing. As a matter of fact this was said during Mary's reign, and it was a thing that told against the Reformation altogether. For Cranmer meant that there was adoration in kneeling, but not adoration of the elements.

One Article against the Real Presence.

At the same time, while the practice of kneeling and the prescribed ceremonies were thus vindicated, anything like adoration of a supposed Bodily Presence was discredited by the 31st Article of the Forty-five, which, with some slight verbal modification, afterwards formed the third clause of Article 28 of the Forty-two; and it is not a little remarkable that this clause was dropped in the days of Queen Elizabeth, and has never since been revived. The English version of it published in 1553 was as follows:—

> Forasmuch as the truth of man's nature requireth that the body of one and the self-same man cannot be at one time in

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[1] The Latin text of the whole article is identical with that given in the footnote on p. 359 except after the words "quoad doctrinae veritatem," the words which follow being "pii sunt, et salutari doctrinae Evangelii in nullo repugnant sed congruunt, et eandem non parum promovent et illustrant; atque ideo," etc.

divers places, but must needs be in some one certain place, therefore the body of Christ cannot be present at one time in many and divers places. And because (as Holy Scripture doth teach), Christ was taken up into heaven, and there shall continue unto the end of the world, a faithful man ought not either to believe, or openly to confess, the real and bodily presence (as they term it), of Christ's flesh and blood in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

This Article was doubtless one of Cranmer's drawing up, and contains, it will be observed, the same argument as the Declaration on Kneeling, expressed in a very similar manner. Moreover, we have every reason to believe that he drew it up before the Declaration was called for, as it was natural enough that he should seek to set forth in the Articles what he had taught in his book on the Sacrament. Yet, though thus far he took up a position which gave men like Knox satisfaction, he felt strongly the injury that would be done to reverential feeling if effect were given to the objection against kneeling; and his remonstrance was not in vain.

Cranmer's views prevailed.

The victory, then, in this matter lay with Cranmer, and not with Knox, for Cranmer gave way no further to the objections of the Scottish preacher than he had done already, with a clear conscience, in the Declaration on Kneeling; but in the remodelling of the Article he put in a word for the ceremonies enjoined, to which Knox could never have subscribed. And it is sufficiently clear that thus far he must have had the support of Northumberland, who, if he cared about the forms of public worship at all, had seen at least that Knox was altogether intractable, and that it would be useless to attempt to satisfy such a man at the cost of wounding the reverential feelings of the great majority. This is the more noteworthy because personally, there can be little doubt, Northumberland did not care for Cranmer one whit more than for Knox. Indeed, it was not very long since he had shown this in rather a marked manner, as we shall presently see.

The *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum.*

By this time the Commission of Thirty-two seems to have completed its labours, and made up a new code of canon law, which, however, was destined to remain in MS. till the days of Queen Elizabeth, when it was actually put in print. But even then it was not authorised as a practical working code, and it never has been since. It has, however, been reprinted in later days, and is known to students as the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum.* What was done about it at this particular time is related in a dispatch to the Emperor preserved in the Brussels archives, of which the following is an extract translated, as well as may be, from the original French:—

Vetoed by Northumberland.

"Touching religion nothing has been innovated, notwithstanding that the Bishops had a volume ready made up in the form of canon law. But it has not been received, and when the said volume was presented to the Estates by the Bishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Northumberland [protested] that nothing should be done about it, and that the said Bishop and his brethren should look well to what they did, because the charge had been given to them, and the rest of the said estates knew not what it was; adding that if they would not teach the true doctrine and pure word of Christ, it was to them the blame would attach. And in connection with this, he related how certain preachers had, some days past, preached about the incorporation of the goods and property, and division of the bishoprics which the King intended to make, saying that they all wished to diminish or restrain the right of the said churches, which they used against the Divine law, and that they were heretics; which was a very scandalous thing, tending to sedition and commotion, and that the Bishops should give order that the like did not occur hereafter, and that they should forbear in their sermons to speak of the Prince or his ministers, otherwise they would have to suffer with the said preachers. Whereupon the said Bishop of Canterbury excused himself, affirming that he had heard no talk of it, and if there was anything in it, it was only to rebuke vices and abuses. The Duke replied that there were vices enough to detest, and that it seemed that the fruits of their life were very meagre, so that some imagined they would fall lightly back into the old life, others that matters of religion and other articles have been for certain reasons postponed and reserved for another time, especially touching the authority and absolute power which ought to be given to the King. Yet there are those who say that this last point is an invention of the Duke's, who might have spread the report to learn people's opinions, and what might be said and judged of it."[1]

Really an unpractical scheme,

Whatever his motives, it is hardly a matter for regret that Northumberland should at this time have put a stop to a new scheme of canon law devised by Cranmer and other Reformers for English use. For it not only had no chance of coming into operation in the time that was close at hand, or even in the days of Queen Elizabeth, when it was actually taken into consideration only to be dismissed as inexpedient, but it was really not a scheme in every way to be recommended, and some of its contents are rather unaccountable. None the less ought we to take note of the fact that at this time, concurrently with the Articles, Cranmer and others had endeavoured to supply—what they were not permitted to supply—something like method, system, and discipline in the Reformed Church of England. For such an object Northumberland cared no more than other secular rulers, and was quite content with ecclesiastical anarchy so long as it gave him no trouble. For the one thing secular statesmen can hardly be expected to favour is zeal for Church principles, or even a desire to ascertain what they really are. Yet I think that through the ages since the Reformation one may trace beneath the surface a tendency towards true and harmonious order in things essential. Englishmen are governed by an unwritten constitution, alike in Church and State.

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[1] From a paper in the Brussels archives, of which there is a transcript in the Public Record Office, in volume 146 of what are called the Rymer Transcripts. I give the original text in an Appendix to this chapter.

not one stopped by Edward's death.

But we are concerned at present with facts which belong to the spring of 1553, for errors began to be spread about them in less than twenty years; and when this scheme of Reformation was printed in 1571, with a preface by Foxe the Martyrologist, it was stated as a thing which could not be doubted that Parliament would have sanctioned it, and given authority for its use, if King Edward's life had been prolonged.[1] Parliament would have done nothing of the sort, for Parliament was entirely at Northumberland's bidding, and we have just seen by authentic contemporary evidence how that nobleman regarded it. So we must dismiss from our minds the idea to which Foxe's words have given rise in Strype and all writers who have treated of the subject since, that a much more effective reform in the discipline and order of the Church would have taken place but for the premature death of a much lamented Prince. It is easy to glorify what might have been, and imagine how much good would have resulted, if, "the rubbish of the old Popish canons and constitutions being laid aside, this, as a just and complete codex, to be used in the room thereof,"[2] had been officially adopted. A detailed examination of the scheme, however, does not lend itself to such idealism, as perhaps a few examples may serve to show.

The general plan of the work was undoubtedly laid down on lines similar to those of the Decretals and other "old Popish canons and constitutions," such as Strype spoke of so disparagingly. Of this the reader may easily satisfy himself by reference to a footnote in Canon Dixon's work.[1] Not that subjects were treated in the same order or under the same headings, but simply that the *Reformatio* was meant as a codification of Church laws, or, it might be said, of Church principles, after the Roman style, for a Church which acknowledged Royal Supremacy.

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[1] See the last paragraph of Foxe's Preface (p. xxvii in Cardwell's edition of the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*).

[2] Strype's words, quoted by Cardwell in his Preface of 1850.

Some features of the *Reformatio* described.

I.[2] First of all, the principles of the Catholic Faith are set forth in seventeen chapters. It being premised that the King's power is derived from God, he requires his subjects to accept and profess the Christian religion. So they are taught what to believe of the nature of God and the Blessed Trinity, of Christ and the mystery of our Redemption, of the two natures of Christ, and so forth. Then comes a section (II.) concerning heresies, in twenty-two chapters, with an epilogue. In the 19th chapter of this section transubstantiation is denounced very much in the language of the Articles, as it is again in another section (V.) concerning sacraments. But in chapter 4 of this latter section the Eucharist is defined in a manner which would have pleased John Knox, as it speaks of receiving in a sitting posture without any mention of kneeling,[3] and emphasises rather strongly that the food is bread and the drink wine, while the act itself is only spoken of as one by which grace is sealed. It is not easy to understand how Cranmer could have agreed to such a treatment of the subject after he had answered so ably the objection to kneeling. But as stress is not laid upon the posture here, he perhaps had passed the matter before. In chapter 7 of this section it is required that marriages should be performed with due solemnity, and that if anything be omitted in the rite they shall be considered null. It seems impossible to vindicate such a provision. In Section III. the mode of proceeding in cases of heresy is laid down. Heresy is still treated as a crime of great atrocity, and any one suspected must purge himself or incur condemnation; but an appeal is allowed from the bishop to the archbishop, and from the archbishop to the King. In the first instance, however, if the accused deny the charge, and cannot find sureties that he will stand his trial, the bishop can commit him to prison till the case is decided. Those hardened in heresy were to be pronounced heretics by the judge, and then excommunicated; but if within sixteen days they would abandon their heresy, they were to do public penance, and swear that they would never return to it, and thirdly, give public satisfaction as to the contrary doctrine; on which they were to be absolved, but only after an earnest exhortation. If the accused was not moved even by sentence of excommunication, he must be handed over for punishment to the civil power (caps. 1-5). Section VI. treats of idolatry, magic, divination, witchcraft, and superstitions, and how they are to be counteracted.

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[1] *History of the Church of England*, iii. 369.

[2] The sections are not numbered as printed, though the chapters into which they are divided are. I have numbered the sections here for convenience.

[3] "Eucharistia sacramentum est in quo cibum ex pane sumunt et potum ex vino qui convivae sedent in sacra Domini mensa: cujus panis inter illos et vini communicatione obsignatur gratia Spiritus Sancti, veniaque peccatorum," etc.

In Section VIII. (of Marriage), chapter 4, neither children nor orphans are allowed to marry without consent of parents or guardians, and if they do so, such marriage is to be held null; but if parents or guardians are unreasonable, the parties may resort *ad magistratum ecclesiasticum*, who shall have power to decide the matter. By chapter 5 the lowest ages allowed at which parties can marry are, twelve in the case of a woman, fourteen in that of a man. In Section IX. (on Prohibited degrees), chapter 3 declares the law in Leviticus (caps. xviii. and xx.) binding, and that men wound their consciences who procure dispensations from Rome. It is noted also that all the prohibited cases are not expressly named in Leviticus; others can be inferred of the like proximity. Chapter 7 declares spiritual relationship no bar to marriage. In Section X. (of Adulteries and Divorces), by chapter 5 an innocent party is allowed to marry again, and by chapter 9 divorce is allowed under certain conditions in case of the husband's long absence; but if he return, the wife must receive him again, provided he has not been to blame for deserting her. In chapter 19 decrees of separation from bed and board are abolished.

These are a few characteristic examples of the proposed legislation. It deals with many problems that seemingly are not decided even now, and it deals with them simply by a new system of law, not by the law of liberty. True social principles will undoubtedly work themselves out in the end, with just so much aid from the law of the land as experience shows to be requisite. But the binding character of religious ties will always depend mainly upon public opinion formed by long experience.

So, after all, the Commission of Thirty-two, promised in statute after statute both in Henry VIII.'s reign and in Edward's, when it was at last constituted and had done its work, saw its work unceremoniously put aside. Perhaps Cranmer, who was naturally looked upon as the chief architect of the structure, was not altogether disappointed. He was really only the president of the Commission by which it was elaborated. We have seen that he protested against the passing of the Act under which that Commission at length was issued; and, as I have just shown, there was at least one passage in the work which did not truly reflect his mind. But whatever Cranmer, or any of the bishops, may have felt about the imposition of a new scheme of canon law, Northumberland had other things in view at this time, and was not going to promote any great change in matters of public concern that did not contribute to the stability of his own power. For he must have been thinking seriously, even before this, what was to become of himself if the young King died. So the very reason why he supported Cranmer against Knox may have been his reason also for not supporting Cranmer's Reformation Scheme.

Edward's illnesses.

Edward's constitution could not have been a strong one, and those who saw much of him doubtless had some anxiety about him even before his fatal illness. Even in the early spring of 1552 he had a troublesome and complicated visitation, which he records himself in his Journal. There, under the date April 2 in that year, we read: "I fell sick of the measles and the smallpox"; and on the 15th of the same month he further writes: "The Parliament brake up, and because I was sick and not able to go well abroad as then I signed a bill containing the names of the Acts which I would have pass; which bill was read in the House. Also I gave commission to the Lord Chancellor, two Archbishops, two Bishops, two Dukes, two Marquises, two Earls, and two Barons to dissolve wholly this Parliament." By the 12th May he was so far recovered that he rode through Greenwich Park to Blackheath, and four days later rode into the park again to see the musters.[1] But apparently he did not regain real health. Hayward, at least, says he complained "of a continual infirmity of body, yet rather as an indisposition in health than any set sickness." At the end of November his Journal comes to an abrupt close. It may be that he only found it too tedious to keep up. It may be, as Nichols suggests, that in the month of December he had been already advised to abstain from study and from writing. It is from next month, January 1553, that his fatal illness is commonly dated. "A tough, strong, straining cough" had seized upon him, and all prescriptions seemed to be unavailing. In February his sister Mary came to see him, riding through London with ladies and gentlemen to the number of 200 horse; and great lords and knights and ladies about the Court seemed anxious to do her all possible honour.[1] It was well to be in the good graces of the heiress presumptive.

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[1] See his Journal under those dates.

City pastimes.

Statesmen and divines might well feel grave. What did common people feel, or how much did they know? Although the young King's health had not been satisfactory even in 1552, he had kept Christmas pleasantly at Greenwich, where he had a Lord of Misrule. Sheriff Maynard in the city had a Lord of Misrule also, with morris-dances and "all goodly pastime"; and on the 4th January, as we learn from Henry Machyn, a citizen who had a keen eye for every spectacle, the King's Lord of Misrule landed at Tower Wharf, where he was met by the Sheriff's Lord of Misrule with his men, "everyone having a riband of blue and white about their necks, and then his trumpet, [drums?], morris-dance, and tabret; and he took a sword and bare it before the King's Lord of Misrule." For this and a good deal more recorded in a mutilated text, I must refer the lover of the picturesque to Machyn's *Diary*. But it would be a pity not to mention how "the King's lord gave the Sheriff's lord a gown with gold and silver; and anon after, he kneeled down, and he took a sword and gave him three strokes and made him knight, and after they drank one to the other upon the scaffold, and his cofferer casting gold and silver in every place as they rode." Then there is dining and banqueting till the Sheriff's lord accompanies the King's lord to his pinnace by torchlight, and he embarks "with a great shot of guns."[2]

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[1] Machyn's *Diary*, pp. 30, 31.

[2] *Ib.* pp. 28, 29.

One would think the citizens could never have enough of this sort of thing. We have some little remains of civic pageantry still; but for the most part we take our amusements now indoors and, those who can afford it, occasionally in theatres. It is the poor, unhappily, who cannot get amusement now; and all because we are so terribly serious. But amusement, when you can get it, plays a very great part in the life of man, and the problem is how to make it wholesome. To devise wholesome and gratuitous entertainment for the multitude might well be a task for a patriot. But there have been statesmen in various ages who knew how to do it for their own benefit. Let us have a little more fooling before we proceed to serious business.

> The 17th day of March came through London from Aldgate Master Maynard, the Sheriff of London, with a standard and drums, and after, giants both great and small, and then hobbyhorses, and after them the g. . . ., and after, great horses and men in coats of velvet with chains of gold about their necks, and men in harness; and then the morris-dance, and then many minstrels. And after came the serjeants and yeomen on horseback, with ribbons of green and white about their necks. And then my lord . . ., late being lord of Misrule, rode gorgeously in cloth of gold and with chains of gold about his neck, with hand full of rings of great value; the w[hich] serjeants rode in coats of velvet with chains of gold. And then came the dullo (the Devil) and a sawden (sultan, or Turk), and then a priest shriving Jack-of-Lent on horseback, and a doctor, his physician; and then Jack-of-Lent's wife brought him his physicians and bade save his life and he should give him a thousand pound for his labour. And then came the cart with the wreath, hanged with cloth-of-gold and full of banners and minstrels playing and singing; and afore rode Master Cook in a coat of velvet with a chain of gold and with flowers.[1]

Fasting had evidently gone out of fashion, and Jack-of-Lent was in a perilous condition. Great lords and citizens could agree about that very well and make merry over it.

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[1] Machyn's *Diary*, p. 33.

But by and by the general public evidently became uneasy. On the 11th April the King came from Westminster to Greenwich by water, and on passing the Tower was saluted by "great shot of guns and chambers," while all the ships in the river joined in the firing, including three that were about to set sail for the New-found land.[1] In the beginning of May, however, false rumours had been spread of his death, for which the Council ordered a man to have his ears nailed to the pillory in Cheapside, and two women to stand on the pillory at Westminster Palace, all three wearing papers with the words, "For false and untrue reports touching the King's Majesty's life," and all three were taken back to their prisons afterwards. Unpleasant rumours arose also about the Duke of Northumberland, for reporting which one "Shengleton" (perhaps Robert Singleton, Anne Boleyn's chaplain, of whom we have heard before[2]) was committed to the Marshalsea with strict orders to keep him from conference with any one. Like orders were given nine days later touching four men committed to the Tower for reporting words "touching the King's person"; and on the 27th of that same month of May orders were despatched to Reading to set a man on the pillory the next market day with a paper, "For lewd and seditious words touching the King's Majesty and the State"; and also to have his ears cut off. It is a comfort to know, however, that the above-mentioned prisoners in the Tower, and some others with them, were dismissed in June with admonitions "to be of a more quiet and better behaviour hereafter."[3] They might well afford to do so, as there was soon to be a change of scene.

False rumours of Edward's death.

Meanwhile there were some very remarkable things

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[1] Machyn, pp. 33, 34.

[2] See Vol. II. p. 382.

[3] Dasent, iv. 266, 269, 274, 278, 289.

The Articles and Ponet's Catechism.

doing about Religion. The Articles so long under the supervision of Cranmer, the bishops, and the Council obtained at last authorisation from the King, but in a manner which may be called peculiar. Connected with their history is a certain Catechism, the composition of the worthy Bishop Ponet, the story of which goes back a little further. In September 1552, Day, the King's printer, had a licence from the Council to print this Catechism,[1] and at the beginning of the following month we meet with a business memorandum in Cecil's hand, containing, among other items, the following: "Item, where one Day has the privilege for the Catechism, and one Reyne Wolfe for all Latin books, that they both may join in printing the Catechism."[2] This little treatise was prepared for publication, alike in a Latin and in an English form, and it was needful for both printers to co-operate, so as not to infringe each other's privileges. The publication, however, seems to have been suspended for several months, till at length Day obtained letters patent dated the 25th March, 7 Edward VI. (1553),[3] which gave him full authority to print the book. This was prefixed to the English version when it appeared; and another document called "An Injunction," dated 20th May of the same year, was prefixed, both to the English and to the Latin publication, commanding all schoolmasters to use it.[4] In this Injunction it is stated that the

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[1] Royal MS. 18 C 24 f. 254 b.

[2] *Calendar of Hatfield Papers*, part i. p. 99.

[3] See the royal letters patent prefixed to the work in *Liturgies of King Edward VI.* (Parker Soc.), pp. 487-8.

[4] In the English there is a reference to a previous Catechism which is not found in the Latin. The words are "teach this Catechism in your schools immediately after the other brief Catechism which we have already set forth." This earlier Catechism appeared in a Primer which William Seres had been authorised to print on the 6th March 1553. It is virtually, indeed almost verbally, identical with the Church Catechism now in use, except that it does not contain the Questions and Answers about the Sacraments at the end (*Liturgies of Edward VI.* (Parker Soc.), pp. 359, 369). Apparently it was drawn up by Cranmer, who acknowledged the authorship in the Disputations at Oxford. See Cranmer's *Works* (Parker Soc.), vol. i. p. 422.

King had submitted the Catechism to the examination of certain bishops whose judgment he highly esteemed.

Subjoined to this Catechism were the Forty-two Articles, which apparently had never before been printed. In a book of warrants we find under date 21st May 1553 the following consecutive entries :—[1]

> Twenty letters undirected signifying that the K.M. hath sent unto every of them certain Articles for a uniform order to be observed in every church within the realm; which Articles are gathered with great study and by the advice of the greatest learned men of the Bishops.
>
> Fifty-four Articles concerning the uniform order to be observed in every church of this realm.
>
> A Catechism also to be taught to scholars as the ground and foundation of their learning.

The above "fifty-four Articles concerning the uniform order" have been taken by Strype[2] to mean a set of Articles laying down a form of ritual. But no such Articles are known to exist, and Canon Dixon[3] finds the number very mysterious. What is meant, however, seems to be fifty-four copies of the Articles mentioned in the previous item, just as the "twenty letters undirected" are evidently copies of one circular. For there can be no doubt that the Articles referred to in both the two first items were the Forty-two now agreed upon, and that the "twenty letters undirected" were circulars, in which they were to be enclosed and forwarded to the bishops.[4] This is evident because, as we have seen, the King's Injunction for the use of the Catechism was dated

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[1] Royal MS. 18 C 24, f. 353 b.

[2] *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, II. ii. 25.

[3] *Hist. of the Church of England*, iii. 518 *note*.

[4] One of these unsigned circulars, a little mutilated, remains in the *State Papers, Domestic, Edward VI.*, vol. xviii. No. 25. It is endorsed in a hand which is probably Elizabethan—"A Minute of the K. Ma$^{\text{ty's}}$ letter to the Bishops for the subscription of the Articles and setting forth of the doctrine of the same —— (*blank*) Maii 1552" (it should be 1553). In Bishop Ridley's *Register* the letter is dated 9th June.

20th May, and the above items are entered in the warrant book under date of the 21st.

It is very curious, certainly, that the Articles were at first issued subjoined to the Catechism as one publication. This was the case both in the English form and in the Latin, the only difference being that some prayers were added at the end of the English Articles. And as the Catechism, which stood first, though called a short one, was more than three times as long as the Articles, it seemed as if these were only of subordinate importance. In fact, they were referred to afterwards as "The Articles of the Catechism." Yet a separate edition of these Articles by themselves was published immediately afterwards by Grafton, with a title which it is important to note particularly. It was—

> Articles agreed on by the Bishops and other learned men in the Synod at London in the year of our Lord God 1552, for the avoiding of controversy in opinions, and the establishment of a godly concord in certain matters of religion. Published by the King's Majesty's commandment in the month of May 1553. Rich. Graftonus, typographus regius excudebat. Lond., mense Junii[1] 1553.

There are some points here that require a little explanation. A Synod is spoken of as having been held at London in the year 1552, and the Articles agreed upon in that Synod are only published in May 1553. But the interval which this suggests between their enactment and publication was really not so long. For the year 1553, according to the computation then in common use in England, only began on the 25th March, and the Synod referred to, which was really the Convocation of the province of Canterbury, met at London on the 2nd March, just a day after the meeting of Parliament. It also rose a day after Parliament, on the 1st April.[2] Thus the most of its sittings were held during that which was then accounted the year 1552. And that this was the time of the Synod referred to in the title-page is further shown conclusively by the title-pages, both Latin and English, of the Catechism to which they were appended in Day's and Wolfe's issues, in both of which it is called "the last Convocation at London" (*in ultima Synodo Londinensi*), in 1552, although the publication was in 1553. It is most important to make this matter clear, because the two dates on these title-pages have been a fruitful source of error to many Church historians treating of this subject, and there are other errors besides, which it is still more necessary to expose.[1]

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[1] The issue of this edition was authorised on the 12th June. Royal MS. 18 C 24, f. 357.

[2] Wake's *State of the Church*, pp. 599-600.

Moreover, it will be as well for another reason that the reader should be able to see one of these title-pages in full. And here is Day's, to which the Latin one of Wolfe exactly corresponds:—

> ¶ A Short Catechisme or playne instruction, conteynynge the summe of Christian learninge, sett fourth by the King's Maiesties authoritie, for all Scholemaisters to teache.
>
> ¶ To thys Catechisme are adioyned the Articles agreed upon by the Bishoppes and other learned and godly men, in the last Conuocation at London in the yeare of our Lorde MDLII., for to roote out the discord of opinions, and stablish the agreement of trew religion: Likewyse published by the Kinges Maiesties authoritie, 1553.

No one, certainly, in the face of evidence like this, could easily bring himself to believe that the Articles in question were not submitted to and confirmed by Convocation. And yet this has been questioned, even by Burnet, and by others after him, on grounds that appear to be perfectly convincing. In fact, not to mince the matter, I may say at once that the statement in those title-pages appears to me nothing but a shameful piece of official mendacity. At least, I see no other conclusion that will really account for what has now to be related.

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[1] The merit of fully unravelling these complications belongs to the late Canon Dixon. All his predecessors, misled partly about the 1552 date and partly about other matters about to be explained, have adopted erroneous views as to the facts.

The year 1553 which saw the publication of those Articles in the spring had not advanced further than the autumn when, under a new reign, another Convocation met in London with a view to a new religious settlement; and on the very first day of its meeting, the 18th October, Dr. Weston, the Prolocutor, said in opening the proceedings: "There is a book of late set forth called the *Catechism*, bearing the name of this honorable Synod, and yet put forth without your consents, as I have learned, being a book very pestiferous, and full of heresies."[1] Then within a month after, Dr. Brookes, who next year was made Bishop of Gloucester, preaching at Paul's Cross on the 12th November, advanced the very same charge in these words: "Was there not," he asked, "one perilous, pernicious, pestilent *Catechism* among other things set forth of late, with a commandment to be read in all grammar schools throughout the whole realm? And that also set forth as allowed by the clergy in *Synod. Londi.*, whereas the Convocation without all doubt (for the Lower House, at least) was never made privy thereunto."[2]

Now, surely, when Dr. Weston declared to Convocation itself that the Catechism was not set forth with their authority, and when Dr. Brookes afterwards said at Paul's Cross that the Lower House, at least, was not consulted about it, the veracity of the title-page is very seriously impugned. But this is not all. For at the second day's sitting of the Convocation, which was on the 20th October, the Prolocutor exhibited two bills, which he hoped each member of the House would sign; and the second had reference to the Catechism, declaring "that it was not of that House's agreement set forth, and that they did not agree thereunto." Hereupon a remonstrance was made by John Philpot (afterwards a Marian martyr), "that he thought they were deceived in the title[1] of the Catechism in that it beareth the title of the Synod of London last before this, although many of them which then were present were never made privy thereof in setting it forth; for that this House had granted the authority to make ecclesiastical laws unto certain persons to be appointed by the King's Majesty; and whatsoever ecclesiastical laws they, or the most part of them, did set forth, according to a statute in that behalf provided, it might be well said to be done in the Synod of London, although such as he, of this House now, had no notice thereof before the promulgation. And in this point he thought the setter forth thereof nothing to have slandered the House, as they, by their subscription, went about to persuade the world, since they had our synodal authority unto them committed, to make such spiritual laws as they thought convenient and necessary."[2]

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[1] Foxe, vi. 396.

[2] Quoted in Hardwick's *History of the Articles*, p. 107 (ed. 1904, Bell).

When nothing better than this could be said in Convocation in reply to Dr. Weston's charge, one would think the truth of that charge was most effectually made out. For indeed Philpot himself admitted that he believed it was literally true. He was a new member, and had not sat in the previous Convocation, and his special pleading after all, so far as it was based upon fact, amounted to this only, that *previous* Convocations had urged and obtained the appointment of a Commission for the codification of ecclesiastical laws. And, after all, the Catechism was not the fruit of this Commission's labours.

Even Archbishop Cranmer was obliged to acknowledge a little later the very same fact that Dr.

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[1] Philpot apparently meant "in objecting to the title."

[2] Foxe, *u.s.*

Weston and Dr. Brookes had publicly declared. For, in the Disputation at Oxford in April 1554, Dr. Weston repeated the charge to his face. "You have set forth a Catechism," he said, "in the name of the Synod of London, and yet there be fifty who, witnessing that they were of the number of the Convocation, never heard one word of this Catechism." Cranmer replied, "I was ignorant of the setting to of that title, and as soon as I had knowledge thereof, I did not like it. Therefore, when I complained thereof to the Council, it was answered me by them that the book was so entitled because it was set forth in the time of the Convocation."[1]

It was the Council, not Cranmer, who were answerable for the falsehood, and the plea by which it was justified, even if we were to accept it as true, was a miserable prevarication akin to that of Philpot. But, as a matter of fact, it was not true even that the book was set forth in the time of that Convocation. Both the warrant book and the date of the Injunction prefixed, show clearly that it was published in May, whereas the Convocation had ended its sittings on the 1st April. The book came out in May—on the 21st, as we have seen above—and there was no loss of time in making use of it to bind the clergy. Thus we read in the *Grey Friars' Chronicle*:—

> Item, the 26th day of May began the Bishop of Canterbery to sit for the new book that the Bishop of Winchester, Powny [Ponet], made, that he would have that all parsons and curates should set their hands unto it, and to every bishop in his diocese. And in London was divers that denied many of the Articles, as Dr. Weston, with divers others.[2]

Thus we find that in London, even under Edward VI., the book did not meet with a perfectly cordial reception from the clergy; and if not there, it was not likely to be much more popular in the country.

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[1] Foxe, vi. 468.

[2] *Chron. of the Grey Friars* (Camden Soc.), pp. 77, 78.

Earlier in the month, as the same chronicle informs us, there had been a general seizure of church plate and of all the coin in the church boxes, with vestments and copes, to supply the necessities of the Royal Treasury. Commissions for this purpose had been issued for all the different counties; and when the Commissioners for London "sat in Paul's" on the 25th with the Lord Chief Justice and the Lord Mayor, the amount realised "drew unto a great goods for the behoof of the King's Grace." The Parliament, too, which Northumberland had been obliged to call in March, and which met in the King's own palace of Whitehall, as in his failing health he could not go abroad to open it, was called mainly to vote a very heavy subsidy to relieve the King's poverty, which the Duke was careful to attribute to the wasteful and impolitic government of his predecessor Somerset. So difficulties, financial and other, were gathering in the management of public affairs under the artful leader who had now the control of everything.

But, to return to the subject of the Catechism and Articles, it is right to notice some arguments which have been thought to confirm the natural inference from the title-page, that they were really approved by Convocation. We might suppose that the records of Convocation itself would have afforded some light on this matter; but these unfortunately perished in the Fire of London. We know, however, from the testimony of more than one writer who actually consulted them, that there was really nothing to be got from them. They were, according to Fuller, "but one degree above blank, scarce affording the names of the clerks assembled therein"; and Heylyn's testimony is to the same effect.[1] So we must form our judgment from other evidences; and in opposition to what has been already shown, we are referred, first, to a letter of the 1st June from the Senate of

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[1] See Hardwick's *Hist. of the Articles*, pp. 105-6.

Cambridge, speaking "De Articulis quibusdam in Synodo Londinensi A.D. 1553 ad tollendam opinionum dissensionem." But this is manifestly taken from the inculpated title-page itself with a rectification of the number of the year according to a usage touching the commencement of the year which became more common afterwards. Then on the 7th June Sir John Cheke, writing to Bullinger of the great reforms in religion accomplished by King Edward, ends by saying: "Besides this, he has lately recommended to the schools by his authority the catechism of John, Bishop of Winchester, and has published the Articles of the Synod at London, which if you will compare with those of Trent, you will understand how the spirit of the one exceeds that of the other. Why should I say more? I send you the book itself," etc.[1] But this clearly has no more authority than "the book itself," the accuracy of which is impugned. Cheke quite naturally followed the official view.

Evidences of the time of Queen Elizabeth are also appealed to in this matter. Ten years after the publication of these Articles of 1553 they were revived in the Convocation of 1563 and described by the Prolocutor as *Articuli in Synodo Londinensi tempore nuper Regis Edwardi VIti editi.* (Articles set forth in the Synod of London in the time of the late King Edward VI.) But this is simply the old error handed down. More telling is a reference when the Vestiarian controversy came up in 1566, and the London clergy were examined as to their reasons for nonconformity. They were urged to consider what a great offence it was to disturb "public quiet in rites and ordinances." This they might learn not only from Scripture and usage, but also from "the determination of this Church in England, both agreed upon in King Edward's days, and also testified and subscribed by themselves, who now would gainsay their own doings then." So we read in a contemporary tract called *An Answer for the Time*, in which it is explained: "The words which the whole Synod were well pleased withal, and whereunto all the Clergy's hands are set to, be these (as in the 23rd[1] Article of that book). To this charge the Answerer of the Examination makes but a short reply. He owns the truth of the allegation that they had subscribed that Article, but justifies it by the qualification of that clause in it, of such traditions and ceremonies as be not repugnant to the Word of God; in which case he owns it be their duty to obey orders. 'The Articles of the Synod (1552), have such considerations annexed to them that we need not fear to subscribe to them again,' etc."[2]

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[1] *Original Letters* (Parker Soc.), p. 142.

Here, however, we must consider what evidences lay before "the Examiner" who pressed the matter in 1566, and "the Answerer" who confessed the facts. The clergy were confronted with their own signatures given in 1553, which they could not repudiate; that is quite true. But when were those signatures given in that year? Not in any regular Synod or Convocation—certainly not in that which sat in March—but, as the *Grey Friars' Chronicle* shows us in a paragraph quoted above, on the 26th May, when Cranmer called the clergy together for the express purpose of getting their signatures to "the new book" made by Bishop Ponet, to which, as we have seen, the Articles were appended. This might, indeed, be called a "Convocation" of one kind, but not of the kind which technically bears that name, and "the Answerer" in 1566 had no occasion to go into the niceties of that matter. The assertion on the title-page of the Articles that they were agreed to in "the Synod of London" was absolutely false.

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[1] So in Wake, but in Hardwick it is given as the 33rd; which is evidently right. The 33rd Article of the Forty-two was the one on "Traditions of the Church."

[2] Wake's *State of the Church*, pp. 599, 600.

Now, why was the Council so anxious to stamp these Articles of Religion with a false authority? I think we may give Cranmer credit for speaking truth when he said that this was not his doing and that he did not like it. But it is curious if Northumberland, who was so much opposed to Parliament's authorisation of the *Reformatio Legum* in March, was very eager to publish the Articles in May, clothed with an authority which had given them no sanction. Cranmer did his best, undoubtedly, to enforce those Articles for his own part, and to persuade other bishops to do the like in their own dioceses; but he would never have gone so far as to say they had been approved by the clergy in Convocation.

To Northumberland we may well believe that Articles of Religion were in themselves matters of as great indifference as reformation of the canon law. But he felt at this time that there were other great interests at stake—especially his own—which depended on a well-established rule of Religion being set forth as binding upon the whole people. And binding it could not have been unless seemingly set forth by the highest ecclesiastical authority in the realm. How was the Church of England at this time to cope with the Church of Rome, which was at this very moment doing what the English Church had been hitherto continually restrained from doing—setting forth her own doctrines and principles of action in distinct canons, alike as to doctrine and discipline? As to discipline, indeed, and reformation of laws, Northumberland had shown himself almost as cold as any of his predecessors who had borne sway for a time. He had, it is true, allowed the Commission of Thirty-two to be nominated, and the more select Commission of Eight to set to and rough-hew the work; but he had not allowed the fruit of their labours to be promulgated as having any legal validity.[1] It would never do, however, to let it be said that a Church independent of Rome had no valid principles at all, and the tendency of things since Edward's accession had been to discredit even the last of the Henrician formularies—the book of "Necessary Doctrine"—by the action of Cranmer himself and all the new bishops. If the new religion had no authorised basis at all, then Rome would assuredly recover her hold, and the foes of Roman jurisdiction would have to answer for it.

The danger was all the more serious if Edward was soon to be succeeded by his sister Mary. In that case, the prospect for those who now held sway was very black indeed. Northumberland was really becoming desperate, but he was doing all he could for Protestantism and his own personal safety. In that very month of May he had begun laying the foundation of his audacious scheme for altering the succession. The King apparently was somewhat better—at all events, reports were spread that he was mending. But Northumberland was preparing for the event which was not far off by something quite unprecedented in English history. He had already taken the first step towards its accomplishment on Whitsunday, 21st May, when he had got his son, Guildford Dudley, married to the accomplished Lady Jane Grey, the daughter of Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, who, about a year and a half before, had been raised to the dukedom of Suffolk. This promotion in the peerage was given him on account of his wife, Frances, the daughter of Henry VIII.'s favourite, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and of that king's sister Mary. And Lady Jane, being the daughter of Frances, was of royal blood, not far removed from the throne, if, besides failure of the male line of Henry, which was imminent, his two daughters were both to be accounted illegitimate (as their father had actually made them), and the line of his elder sister Margaret, who had married James IV. of Scotland, were set aside in favour of that of the younger, Mary. Nor would even this supersession of Margaret's line have been without warrant; for Henry VIII.'s will, confirmed by special Acts of Parliament, had expressly provided for the issue of his younger sister succeeding before that of the elder. But then the will had also given priority in the succession to each of Henry's two daughters, bastards though they were declared to be. So the claim could not be vindicated on any theory whatever.

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[1] Even a bill to extend the term of three years allowed to the Commissioners by the Act of 1549, though it reached a second reading in the House of Lords (see *Lords' Journals*, i. 419, 428), was not allowed to become law. Perhaps the Commissioners hastened their work in consequence.

To complete the matter, Edward, under age as he was, must be persuaded to do as his father had done —dispose of the succession to the Crown by will. But this was an act that, even in his father's case, could not have been justified had not the power to do so been expressly conferred upon him by Parliament. Northumberland, however, proposed to outrage constitutional principles still further by getting the poor lad first to make a will altering the succession, trusting to get it ratified by Parliament afterwards. And by this will, executed in the first place without the consent of Parliament at all, it was actually proposed to set aside the will of the King's father confirmed by statute! Never was a more outrageous project set on foot as regards the constitution; but Northumberland was irrecoverably ruined unless it could be carried out successfully. And he could naturally reckon on the aid of Suffolk, and to some extent on the sympathy of others who had benefited by monastic plunder, and had cause to dread a Catholic reaction.

I need not dwell on well-known details. He persuaded young Edward to disinherit both his sisters.

In fact, he had worked upon his feelings as to the danger of a return to popery, and had got him to go all lengths with his design. It was in vain for the Chief-Justice himself to urge upon his little Majesty that neither he nor the other lawyers summoned to draw up the will durst act in such a manner. It would be treason to do anything of the kind in defiance of the statutes. But Northumberland threatened even the Judges with violence if they did not comply; and at last they agreed, all but Sir James Hales, to do what was required on receiving a special commission and pardon under the Great Seal. Having so far prevailed, it was not difficult to obtain the signatures of Councillors and others—even of Cranmer, though he pleaded at first that it would be inconsistent with his oath to maintain the will of Henry VIII.

So when Edward died (6th July) a desperate effort was made to supplant Mary in the succession. The death was concealed for days, while arrangements were made to capture Mary at Hunsdon and to proclaim Queen Jane. Queen Jane was proclaimed and became a nine-days' wonder. But Mary was not captured. She was warned that it was sought to entrap her, and rode off to Kenninghall in Norfolk. She was joined by the Earl of Bath and many others, while the gentry proclaimed her in other counties. Then on the 19th she was proclaimed Queen in London amid great rejoicing. Suffolk himself proclaimed her on Tower Hill, having told his daughter that she was Queen no longer.

On the 3rd August Mary rode into London and released the victims of her father's and her brother's tyranny—the Duke of Norfolk, Edward Courtenay, Bishop Gardiner, and the widowed Duchess of Somerset from the Tower, and Bishop Bonner from the Marshalsea. It is interesting to read what a contemporary tells us about the liberation of this much maligned prelate:—

> The 5th of August at 7 o'clock at night came home Edmund Boner bishop from the Marshalsea like a bishop, that all the people by the way bade him welcome home, both man and woman, and as many of the women as might kissed him; and so came to Paul's and knelt on the steps and said his prayers. And then the people rang the bells for joy.[1]

This carries us back through the centuries into an age before Puritanism had either controlled the too great freedom of common intercourse or succeeded in weaving a web of general prejudice against a bishop who soon afterwards had much painful duty imposed upon him. As yet, at least, it is clear that Bonner had not come to be looked upon as a repulsive character. Many years before this, as we learn, even from a writer who tried to make the most of those prejudices, he had shown himself very humane to the poor lad Mekins who fell a victim to the severity of the Six Articles. By that Act, in order to overcome double-dealing heretics, no recantation was allowed as a plea for pardon, and the unhappy youth, who had too freely expressed his disbelief in Transubstantiation, was committed to the flames. An admirer of Dr. Barnes, he had come to believe the Lutheran view of the Eucharist, generally called Consubstantiation; but in conversations with Bishop Bonner before he suffered he became convinced that he was wrong. Bonner did the best he could for him under the circumstances; and so we read even in the words of a prejudiced contemporary: "At the time he was brought to the stake he was taught to speak much good of the Bishop of London, and of the great charity he showed him; and that he defied all heresies and cursed the time that ever he knew Dr. Barnes, for of him had he learned that heresy which he died for." The reader does not require much guidance to see the animus expressed here in the curious words "*was taught* to speak much good of the Bishop of London," as if a lad, even of fifteen, as Hall makes him (eighteen was his age by another authority), placed in such an awful position, had any interest in flattering his bishop. But the writer, to make the insinuation plausible, goes on to suggest further what is plainly untrue. "The poor boy," he says, "would for the safeguard of his life have gladly said that the Twelve Apostles taught it him, for he had not cared of whom he had named it, such was his childish innocency and fear." This, forsooth, he would have done when "brought to the stake" under a law that was absolutely relentless!

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[1] *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 82.

Dr. Cox, Dean of Westminster, the late King's schoolmaster, took Bonner's place in the Marshalsea.[1] It was an ill time now for heretics, but as yet and for more than a year there was no thought of sending them to the fire. Only in so far as they had done unconstitutional things could they be punished at present. But the whole of the government carried on in Edward's name had been really quite unconstitutional; and the great conspiracy of Northumberland was, in fact, but the climax of a long course of unconstitutional action. We may find, indeed, much to claim our sympathy in Cranmer's persistent efforts to establish a Catholicism independent of Rome. But none the less what he had done, and what Somerset and Northumberland had done in his behalf, was all distinctly unconstitutional. The justification of it all, indeed, was that the law of God was above the Constitution; and the law of God, of course, was that which Somerset and Warwick administered.

But whatever may be said of the gain to religion secured by Cranmer and others, it does not appear that there was any similar gain to morality in the days of Edward VI. On the contrary, it looks as if both public and private morals had been worse in his day than before. Of this the reader may have already perceived some indications, and abundance will be found in contemporary chronicles.[1] But for the general fact it is desirable to read what the most zealous of Reformers and the most ardent of the young King's admirers writes only a few months after his death, especially as his remarks supplement the record of the months preceding that catastrophe. This is what John Knox has to say in his "Godly Letter of Warning or Admonition to the Faithful in London, Newcastle, and Berwick, 1554":—

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[1] Machyn's *Diary*, p. 39; *Grey Friars' Chron.*, *u.s.*

"That we had not God's word truly preached among us will none except ane errant and despiteful papist deny. We had ane King of sa godly disposition towards virtue and the truth of God that none from the beginning passit him (and to my knowledge, none of his years did ever match him in that behalf gif he mycht haif been lord of his awn will). In this meantime, if sins did abound let every man accuse his awn conscience. For here I am not minded to specify all that I know; neither yet is it necessary, being some crimes were so manifest and heinous that the earth could not hide the innocent blood, neither yet could the heavens behold without shame the craft, the deceit, the violence and oppression that universally were wrought. And in the mean season the hand of God was busy over us, and His true messengers kept not silence.

"Ye know the realm of England was visited with divers and strange plagues, and whether it was not ever prophesied, unless that with more obedience we embrace God's Word, that the worse plagues was to follow, I appeal to the testimony of your awn conscience. But what ensewit hereupon? Allace! I eschame to rehearse it. Universal contempt of all God's admonitions, hatred of them that rebuked vice, authorising of them that could invent most villany against the preachers of God's Word. In this matter I may be admitted for a sufficient witness, for I heard and saw, I understood and knew with the sorrow of my heart, the manifest contempt and crafty devices of the Devil against those most godly and learned preachers that this last Lent, Anno MDLIII., were appointed to preach before the King's Majesty, as also against all others whose tongues were not temperat with the halie water of the Court—plainly to speak, wha could not flatter against their conscience and say all was well, and nathing needed reformation. What reverence and audience, I say, was given to the preachers this last Lent by such as then were in authority, their awn consciences declared—assuredly, even such as by the wicked Princes of Judah was given to Jeremiah. They hated such as rebuked vice, and stubbornly they said, We will nocht amend. And yet how boldly their sins were rebuked, even in their faces, such as were present can witness with me. Almost there was none that occupied the place but he did prophesy and plainly speak the plagues that are begun and assuredly shall end. Maister Grindal plainly spake the death of the King's Majesty, complaining on his household servants and officers, who neither eschamed nor feared to rail against God's true Word and against the preachers of the same. The godly and fervent man, Maister Lever, plainly spake the desolation of the common weal, and the plagues which should follow shortly. Maister Bradfurde (whom God for Christ His Son's sake comfort to the end) spared not the proudest, but boldly declared that God's vengeance should shortly strike them that then were in authority because they abhorred and loathed the true Word of the Everlasting God; and, amongst many others, willed them to take example by the late Duke of Somerset, who became so cold in hearing God's Word that the year before his last apprehension he wald ga visit his masons, and wald not deny himself to ga from his gallery to his hall for hearing of a sermon. God punished him (said the godly preacher), and that suddenly, and shall He spare you that be doubly more wicked?"[1]

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[1] See Wriothesley s *Chron.*, ii. 8, 36, 50, 52, 54, 68; *Grey Friars' Chron.*, pp. 62, 70, 78.

John Knox does not describe in detail wickedness that is well known to all his contemporaries; but he ascribes it to their not hearing sermons or showing true Calvinistic devotion. He felt that the godly preachers were only employed by the Court for a politic purpose, and that the politicians who employed them had not the least idea of regulating their own lives by their preaching.

And now there was a new Queen — one whom Knox assuredly did not admire, but quite as honest a woman as he was a man, and she had the hearts of her subjects generally with her. But she was one who, owing to the way she had been treated, both in her father's and in her brother's reign, knew nothing of the world, and was no way educated for the part she had to play. And was such a one likely to restore healthy government where so much had gone amiss?

Before closing this volume—that is to say Books V. and VI. of this history, setting forth what was done and suffered during the Protectorship of Somerset and the ascendancy of Dudley—I feel that I must add a few words, to prevent misapprehension. The reader must not imagine that I have even attempted to set before him an exhaustive history of the reign of Edward VI. That is a work that I must leave to others who, I hope, will accomplish it hereafter. My own working powers are well-nigh spent, and what is left of them must be reserved for the continuation of my task — which is simply to show the influence of Lollardy on the Reformation. The two things almost seem to be one at this time; but they are really not so, and never can be. Lollardy, it is true, is with us still to some extent, and there is no getting rid of it entirely, just as there is no getting rid of error and narrowness. But, looking through the ages since Edward VI. we can easily see that, though it seemed to grow more and more imperious for a whole century, and the broad catholic principles of the Reformation were even trampled underfoot at one time—though it provoked civil war and confusion,—the triumph of Lollardy was really the beginning of its decline. And from that day to this Puritanism has generally lost more and more of its old tenacity, as people now alive can bear witness that it has done in their own day.

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[1] Laing's *Knox*, iii. 175, 176. I have modernised the spelling in this extract to a large extent, to make it more readable, without altogether Anglicising it, which would have made it look more like a translation than a mere quotation.

There were two kinds of Lollardy from the first—aristocratic Lollardy, favoured in high places, but avowed or disowned at convenience; and the fervid, Scriptural Lollardy of half-instructed men. The lower-class Lollardy had been cynically cultivated by the Court ever since the breach with Rome for the very purpose of destroying papal power and the authority of the canon law—an object in which it was completely successful. But this ill-informed Lollardy was quite as impatient of episcopal as of papal government, and hated all bishops merely because they were bishops, except that it felt some regard for those of the New Learning. On the other hand, the Court required bishops, even to regulate the Church in its own way, and to maintain itself against Rome, on the theory that it had made no breach whatever in the essential principles of religion. In fact, it had restored true Church principles and got rid of a foreign usurped authority. Such was the plea of despotism, and all the literary supporters of the New Learning supported despotism through thick and thin. Only when despotism, being a little afraid of its own security, made a strong declaration by an Act like the Six Articles of its allegiance to time-honoured doctrine, did literary Lollards like Foxe heave a sigh and wonder how such a noble King could have been so painfully misled. The declaration, indeed, with all its menaces, was not such a serious matter as they made it, for the victims were really very few. But the words of the Act of Parliament were quite enough to serve the purposes of Lollardy by suggesting that, instead of being still favoured underhand, it had gone through a period of fierce and bitter persecution.

I do not propose to say much even about the literature of Lollardy. But some general features should be noted. Aristocratic Lollardy, first of all, obtained the aid of poet libertines such as from age to age had always grown up unchecked because there was no moral censor to restrain their utterances. What could be done? Confessors only dealt with individual souls, and the souls of individual libertines disburdened themselves to their priests just exactly when they thought it would be prudent, or perhaps very necessary to do so. Reconciliation with the Church could always be obtained by penance, and the penalty, especially to the rich, was not very severe. Priests themselves were far too many of them libertines, and there was nothing like a distinct change of faith implied in reviling priests, bishops, and even Popes, *ad libitum*. It could all be set right, if necessary, in the long run. And the dissolute wits and singers of the Court of Henry VIII.—Sir Francis Brian, Anne Boleyn's cousin; her brother, George Viscount Rochford (who is said to have been a poet); Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder, and the unhappy Surrey —might all of them have been reconciled in the end to the Papal See if their master had found it necessary for his part. But as Henry VIII. himself found no real necessity for this in his day, neither did his minions. Nay, a Lollard literature grew up in the Court itself, or rather was fostered there, and, just as Clement Marot in France had versified the Psalms of David in French, Thomas Sternhold, Groom of the Robes to Henry VIII., had set about versifying some of them in English before that King's death.

Sternhold himself died two years later in 1549. He had then just published nineteen of the Psalms in metre; and just after his death there appeared, with a dedication to Edward VI., a collection consisting of thirty-seven Psalms versified by him, and seven by John Hopkins, a clergyman of Suffolk. But the complete Psalter bearing the names of Sternhold and Hopkins was not published till 1562, in the days of Queen Elizabeth, when it appeared annexed to the Prayer Book. On the title-page the work is said to have been "conferred with the Ebrue"—a great guarantee, no doubt, for the strict accuracy of the translation, which, from a Lollard point of view, was a matter of supreme importance.[1] The lasting celebrity of this work was certainly not due to its poetical merits.

Among other poetasters who continued under Edward VI. was William Gray, of whom we have heard before. He, too, was a Court poet, author, as it would seem, of a "merry ballad," beginning:

The hunt is up, the hunt is up,

as well as of the abominable profanities referred to in a past volume.[2] Under Edward VI. he was a friend of the Duke of Somerset, to whom he presented two poetical "New year's gifts" that have survived—the last two, if he had made it an annual practice, which we cannot tell: for the first was composed at the beginning of 1550, while the Duke was still in prison; the second in 1551, some months before his second fall. They are both flavoured with the new piety in a rather curious fashion, and full of good advice, the first suggesting that the Duke's punishment will make him know God the better; the second, that, now he is free, he should further God's Word to the utmost, think of the wretched state of the commonwealth, and beware of flatterers. There is also "an epitaph on Gray," probably written by himself, indicating that he died young after a stormy life, his days being shortened by a wicked wife.[1] What are we to think of such effusions? They are, at least, of the time.

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[1] Even down to our own time the metrical "Paraphrases" of Scripture used in the Church of Scotland have been disliked by many Presbyterians just because, being paraphrases, they are not close translations of the inspired Word. Even Milton was affected by this literalness, and he actually preferred in one case to do his Muse such injustice as to fill up the metre with meaningless words: "lest as a lion (and no wonder)" (Ps. vii. 2) rather than take other liberties with the text.

[2] Vol. II. 171, 290.

Of other and better known authors of the period, such as John Leland and Nicholas Udall, it is scarcely necessary to speak in relation either to Lollardy or the Reformation, though their poetical gifts were perhaps of higher grade. Generally speaking, the times were hardly favourable either to literature or to education. For the higher education surely suffered no small loss when in 1550 the Visitors of the University of Oxford, headed by the Chancellor, Dr. Cox, dean of Christ Church, acting, no doubt, under the new law for the destruction of papistical books and images, destroyed illuminated MSS. and works of scholastic divinity by the cart-load. The Act had only been carried through Parliament in the teeth of numerous and weighty protests. But it was carried out relentlessly, and Dr. Cox was remembered afterwards for his zeal as the "Cancellor," not Chancellor, of the University. Ship-loads of MSS. are said to have been exported, to be used by bookbinders; and even painted windows were not spared under the Act, except where a college was able to plead, as New College is said to have done, that it could not at once destroy them as it could not afford new glass! Here the impecuniosity of the college saved its treasures. And there were other disgraceful ravages of which superstition was the plea, though gold and silver seem to have been the real objects. Even the King's library, as we have seen,[1] was not spared, but was specially purged of "superstitious books" when they had gold and silver ornaments.

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[1] Furnivall's *Ballads from MSS.*, vol. I. pt. i. 414-25, 435.

From the very commencement of the reign, Heads of Houses at Oxford had begun to see how the tide was running, and several of them showed signs of compliance with new tendencies. Even Dr. Henry Cole, Warden of New College, is said to have done so, though he resigned his wardenship, and some other livings as well, during Edward's reign, and showed himself under Mary whole-hearted for the old religion. The Universities, in truth, suffered in other ways than by a "Cancellor's" acts. Endowments given even by Henry VIII. for lectureships were misappropriated, as the fervid Thomas Lever, of Cambridge, complained in sermons preached sometimes before King Edward himself.[2] Particularly to be noted is the way he addressed the citizens of London on this subject from Paul's Cross. After describing Henry VIII.'s endowments at Cambridge he observed:—

"Every man may perceive that the King, giving many things and taking nothing from the Universities, was very desirous to have them increased and amended. Howbeit all they that have known the University of Cambridge since that time that it did first begin to receive these great and manifold benefits from the King's Majesty at your hands have just occasion to suspect that you have deceived both the King and University to enrich yourselves. For before that you did begin to be disposers of the King's liberality towards learning and poverty, there was in houses belonging unto the University of Cambridge two hundred students of divinity, many very well learned; which be now all clean gone, house and man, young toward scholars and old fatherly doctors, not one of them left. One hundred also of another sort, that having rich friends, or being beneficed men, did live of themselves in Ostles [halls] and inns, be either gone away or else fain to creep into colleges and put poor men from bare livings. Those both be all gone, and a small number of poor godly, diligent students now remaining only in colleges be not able to tarry and continue their study in the University for lack of exhibition and help. There be divers there which rise daily betwixt 4 and 5 of the clock in the morning, and from 5 until 6 of the clock use common prayer, with an exhortation of God's word in a common chapel, and from 6 unto 10 of the clock use either private study or common lectures. At 10 of the clock they go to dinner, whereas they be content with a penny piece of beef amongst four, having a few porage[1] made of the broth of the same beef, with salt and oatmeal and nothing else.

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[1] See page 184.

[2] See Arber's edition of his *Sermons*, pp. 80, 81, 120.

"After this slender dinner they be either teaching or learning until 5 of the clock in the evening, whenas they have a supper not much better than their dinner. Immediately after the which they go either to reasoning in problems or unto some other study until it be 9 or 10 of the clock and, there being without fire, are fain to walk or run up and down half an hour to get a heat on their feet when they go to bed."[2]

It was these poor and zealous students, sorry to leave their studies, that were being driven from the Universities for lack of maintenance, and grammar schools were at the same time given up in the country owing to the greed and covetousness of trustees.[3]

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[1] The expression "a few porage" is interesting. To this day Scotsmen, who are much given to porridge, talk of supping "them," always making the word a plural.

[2] Lever's *Sermons* (Arber), pp. 121-2.

[3] *Ib.* p. 123.

Nor must we overlook pretty clear indications here and there that, in the opinion even of this stout preacher of the New Learning, things were really better in the days when monasteries still stood. Lamenting that noblemen gave their chaplains no wages, and that servants of Mammon spoiled the parishes, leaving the people untaught, he declares: "If ye were not stark blind, ye would see and be ashamed that whereas fifty tun-bellied monks given to gluttony filled their paunches, kept up their house and relieved the whole country round about them, there one of your greedy-guts devouring the whole house and making great pillage throughout the country, cannot be satisfied."[1]

Again:—

"Surely the abbeys did wrongfully take and abuse nothing so much as the improperations of benefices."[2]

And here are more specific indictments:—

"The King's Majesty that dead is did give a benefice to be appropriate unto the University of Cambridge *in liberam et puram eleemosynam* (as free and pure alms). Howbeit, his hands were so unpure which should have delivered it that he received £600 of the University for it. Whether that this £600 were conveyed to the King's behoof privily for that alms which by plain writing was given freely, or else put into some Judas' pouch, I would it were known. . . .

"There was in the North country, amongst the rude people in knowledge (which be most ready to spend their lives and goods in serving the King at the burning of a beacon) there was a grammar school founded, having in the University of Cambridge, of the same foundation eight scholarships, ever replenished with the scholars of that school; which school is now sold, decayed and lost. Mo there be of like sort handled."[3]

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[1] Lever's *Sermons* (Arber), p. 119. [2] *Ib.* p. 125. [3] *Ib.* pp. 80, 81.

"The New Learning" itself seemed to be on the way to complete extinction. Some halls at Oxford were absolutely void of students; and some of the unfrequented schools were, towards the end of Edward's reign, bought by citizens of Oxford who pulled them down and made gardens on their sites, selling the very tiles and timber, or using them for their own houses. Academic education was falling into complete disrepute. Old academic terms were despised as pedantic. Some thought degrees anti-Christian, and others would not study for them, as they opened the door to no preferment. Early in Elizabeth's reign, at a visitation of the diocese of Salisbury, a preacher was asked why the schools of Oxford were suffered to go down and disputations left off in the days of Edward VI.; and his answer was, "By Dr. Cox's endeavours."[1]

After Mary's accession it was surely time to revive the old learning, and even the old religion, to which the country at large was still devoted; and she did so as far as it could be done. But there was yet something in the way that could not be got rid of. The Pope might be restored, but he was restored by the same power by which he had been deposed. Royal supremacy had laid the foundation of the Reformation, and royal supremacy still remained. Even religious order—whatever order there was to be henceforth—must exist under the sanction of royal supremacy.

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[1] See Anthony Wood's *Annals of the University of Oxford*, ii. 82-115.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV

The original text of the document referred to at p. 363 is as follows. It is derived from a transcript in the Brussels archives, and apparently the original was among the despatches of Scheyfve, the Imperial ambassador.

"EXTRAIT DE LA PREMIÈRE SESSION DU PARLEMENT ACHEVÉ ET PAR LE ROY RATIFFIÉE ET AUTHORISÉE LES CONSTITUTIONS ET DECRETZ D'ICELUI.

"Occurans du 10^e d'Apvril 1553, en sa maison de Westmunster, y présent les états, les dites constitutions concernent la plus part la police, et entre autres l'on a diminué et restrainct le nombre des taverniers. . . .

"Quant aux habitz et vestemens, quelques autres articles ont esté proposez au dit Parlement, mais la chose n'est tumbée en resolution.

"Touchant la religion l'on n'y a rien innové, nonobstant que les Evesques avoient ung volume prest et composé par forme de droit canon; mais il n'a point esté receu, et estant ledit volume presenté aux Estats par l'Evesque de Cantorbery, Duc de Noorthumberlant[1] que riens ne sen feroit, et que ledit Evesque et ses confreres regardassent bien ce qu'ilz feissent puisque la charge leur avoit esté donnée, et que les autres des dits Estatz ignoroient ce que c'estoit; y adjoustant que s'ilz n'enseignassent la vraie doctrine et pure parole de Christ, que ce seroit à eux qu'on en prendroit, entremeslant en cecy comme certains concionateurs avoient ces jours passez pressez (prêché ?) sur l'incorporation du bień et fons et division des Eveschez que le Roi entendoit faire, disant que tous ceulx vouloient diminuer ou restraindre le droit des dites Esglises, qu'ilz usoient contre la loi Divine et qu'ilz estoient heretiques; qu'estoit chose trop schandaleuse tendant a sedition et commotion; et que les dits Evesques donnassent ordre que semblable n'advint doresnavant, et se deportassent en leurs sermons d'attirer le Prince ou ses ministres, ou autrement qu'ilz auroient a souffrir avec les dits prescheurs. Surquoy ledit de Cantorbery s'excusoit, affermant qu'il n'en avoit ouy parler, et si quelque chose en estoit que cela avoit esté fait seulement pour reprendre et noter les vices et abuz. Ledit

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[1] It would seem as if some words were omitted here in the transcript.

Duc replicqua qu'il y avoit des vices assez a detester, et qu'il sembloit que les fruits de leur vie estoient bien maigre, de sorte que aucuns estiment que l'on tumberoit legerement à l'enchienne, les autres que le fait de la religion et plusieurs autres articles pour certains respectz et considerations ont esté postposez et reservez pour une autre fois, mesme touchant l'auctorité et absolute puissance laquelle devoit estre donné au Roi ; si y a il de ceulx qui dient que ce dernier point soit de l'invention du dit Duc, qui en auroit fait semer le bruit, pour cognoistre l'opinion des gens, et ce qu'on en pourroit dire et juger.

"Durant le dit Parlement les villes Henses ont envoié en Angleterre certain docteur et commissaire de la ville appellé Maistre Herman Ploninges, pour declairer au Roi et son Conseil l'envoi des ambassadeurs des dites villes après que la diette seroit tenue.

"Le Roi se refait et doit aller a Grunwits.

"Du 10 Avril 1553."

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